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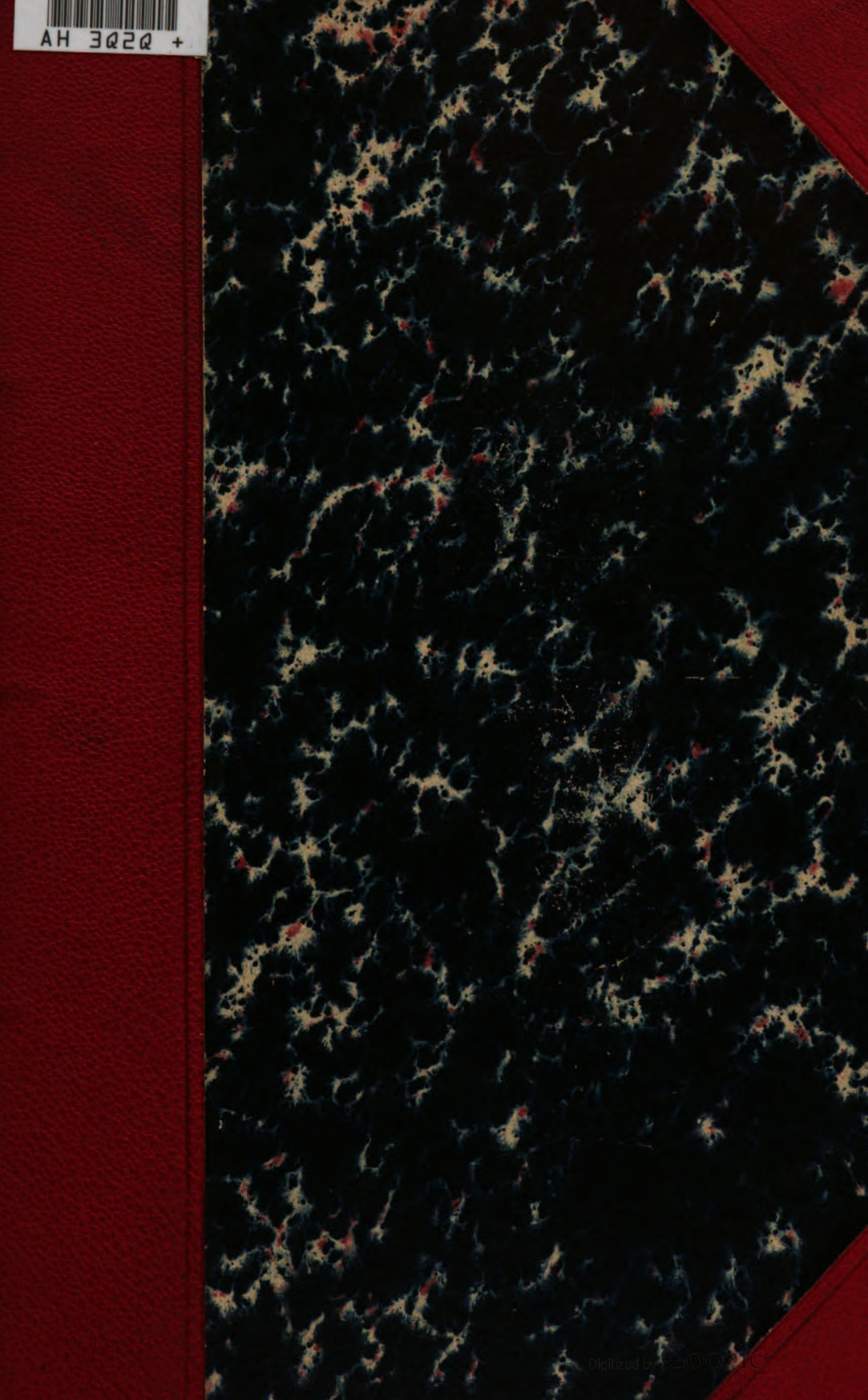
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THE INTERPRETER.

OCTOBER, 1906—JULY, 1907.

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A Quarterly Review for the Study of Missions.

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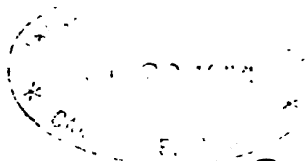
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THE INTERPRETER.

Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things?

Chr.: Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.

VOL. III.

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No. I.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

Comparative Religion.

There are few lines of inquiry at present pursued by scientific thinkers which do not employ the comparative method. The science of anatomy, which has for its aim the examination of the structure of the body, is incomplete without it. The anatomist finds that the comparison of the structure of man with the inferior animals, and of one class of animals with another, opens up a fruitful field for study. By it he can trace the relative utility of various organs and follow the history of their development. He learns how much man has in common with the animal world, while he is enabled to recognise more clearly how he transcends it. So, too, the student of language has learnt that a comparative study of words has been of incalculable service in tracing the nature, history and gradual development of human speech, while at the same time it has thrown a flood of light over many religious ideas and customs which have left their mark upon our race. In fact each progressive scientific inquiry finds the comparative method indispensable, and we constantly hear of Comparative Physiology, Comparative Zoology, Comparative Jurisprudence or Comparative Psychology.

Nor can the Science of Religion afford to neglect so useful an implement, and the study of Comparative Religion is one

whose importance it would be hard to exaggerate. In his admirable book, *Comparative Religion* (Messrs. T. & T. Clark), Mr. Jordan supplies us with the following definition, or perhaps we should say description, of this method: "Comparative Religion is the science which compares the origin, structure and characteristics of the various religions of the world, with the view of determining their genuine agreements and differences, the measure of relation in which they stand to one another, and their relative superiority or inferiority when regarded as types". We should be careful to notice that this is not the same thing as saying that it seeks to determine the relation of all religions alike to a common fundamental instinct in man. This determination is indeed an important and deeply interesting branch of inquiry, but it must be conducted in the more advanced domain of the Philosophy of Religion.

There are two fields in which the student of Comparative Religion may work, the wider and the narrower. The wider field is occupied with the comparison of different religions; the narrower, but not less important, field is concerned with the conceptions which were current within a single religion at different periods in its history. In the wider field would lie the comparisons which have been instituted between the primitive beliefs of the Babylonians and the Hebrews, or between Buddhism and Christianity. In the narrower field we examine by comparison those different conceptions of the adherents of the Zoroastrian Faith which have marked the long and varied history of that form of belief. In some respects this narrower study is the more important, and properly conducted it gives us a wide and intelligent insight into the essential features of the religion to which it is systematically applied. If we apply it to Zoroastrianism we find at first a faith far less complex than that with which we are at present confronted. The passing centuries have left their mark, and the comparative investigator has to examine into the nature of those elements which entered slowly or abruptly into the primary faith, and affected the direction of its flow. He must

ask : Why were they welcomed ? What was their own intrinsic worth or force ? When was their appearance first revealed in ritual or belief ? As this method is called upon to elucidate the complexities of Hinduism, Mohammedanism, or Buddhism, so it is to be applied to Judaism and to Christianity, and this is for us its most attractive sphere. The feature in all religions which it brings most sharply into prominence is their gradual growth. As religion is the subject dearest to the human mind, so the advance of religion has been correspondingly cautious and slow. It seems to have been God's method not to lead men forward by sudden revolution but by gradual evolution, and it was a true insight which led Professor Robertson Smith to say that "In all true religion the new rests upon the old". The comparative method has revealed in Christianity a greater capacity for growth and expansion than in any other faith. If it does not inaugurate new rites it fills the old ones with a new content, making them expand far beyond their early boundaries. It has grown with diverse types of civilisation, lending to these an elevating power, and in turn receiving modification at their hands.

Its Late Advent.

The comparative study of Religion is a science of late growth, and necessarily so. It could not arise in early Greek or Hebrew thought, which held that religions must necessarily differ beyond compare, inasmuch as different peoples had different gods. And even when the idea of the one and only God was breathed into Jewish thought we are not surprised that the very tenacity of their hold upon their own belief prevented them from studying sympathetically other faiths. When a faith had to struggle for its existence it had neither time nor inclination to investigate neighbouring faiths. When Mohammedanism arose in the seventh century it was not examined but resolutely attacked by Christianity, and even in the sixteenth century a Luther, a Calvin, or a Knox, struggling to maintain their own footing, made no honest attempt to enter into their opponent's position, whether that opponent was a Roman, a Jew, or a Mohammedan. In each

of these periods it was the fierceness of the struggle for existence or supremacy which rendered men totally unfit for a study which of all others calls for tranquil surroundings and a quiet, tolerant mind.

But this declaration of unsympathetic antagonism was not to be the final word. The narrow barriers dividing country from country, people from people, and custom from custom were breaking down, and comparison in some shape or form was forced upon men. Great issues hang upon small events. The invention of the mariner's compass opened the way to a rapid succession of maritime discoveries. In the fifteenth century Portuguese sailors journeyed from distant lands to others more remote: from Madeira to India, and thence to China and Japan. And at length a Genoese sailor found his way to America. These sailors brought back strange stories of worship and ritual, to which thoughtful men were bound to lend an ear. The sacred Scriptures of various peoples were secured, and when they could be deciphered they were eagerly studied. They gave rise to much questioning, and problems of faith forced themselves into prominence. It is about the middle of the eighteenth century that we find in the books of a small group of investigators the first faint signs which herald the approach of the Science of Comparative Religion. Latterly the science has rapidly developed. Mindful of Roger Bacon's remark that none of the sciences "can attain its proper result separately, since all are parts of one and the same complete wisdom," it has called upon every science to yield tribute of its stores. The anthropologist must render up the result of his study of mankind in their every aspect, physical, mental or historical, together with his gleanings as to their origin and progress, and their relation to inferior forms of life. His studies have powerfully reinforced the evolutionary theory by showing that mankind has everywhere passed through progressive stages of development. It has revealed man's extreme antiquity, and tends to show that in the primitive stage of every people there is a fundamental instinct for religion.

The value of the contributions of the archæologist is too obvious to need enforcing. Monuments from the mounds of ancient Palestine; tablets from the rich lands through which the Euphrates flows; long lists of genealogy from the temples of Egypt, and rolls of papyri from her rubbish heaps all swell the common store. Even apart from unwritten records we possess a continuous written record of Egyptian history extending over 7,000 years, and behind this we can penetrate still farther into her unwritten past.

Space forbids us to pursue the subject or to cull more from the ample stores of information which lie within the pages of Mr. Jordan's book. But with great confidence we recommend this, the fruit of his many laborious years, to any who feel the importance of the noble study of Comparative Religion and wish direction in their efforts to pursue it. And it is with pleasant anticipations that we await the advent of the two additional books which Mr. Jordan promises us, and in which he purposes to continue the work which he has here begun.

"Religion in Evolution."

When we turn to Dr. Jevons' book *Religion in Evolution* (Messrs. Methuen) we find an admirable example of the practical adaptation of the methods of Comparative Religion. It illustrates the results to which they may lead us and the pitfalls from which they may warn us. The particular question to which Dr. Jevons is addressing himself is whether religion has been preceded by a non-religious stage, and he aims at examining the grounds of those who dogmatically assert that such has been the case rather than at attempting himself to supply a direct answer.

It is now some years since Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, two well-known travellers and shrewd observers, published the *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, in which they discussed the beliefs of the Northern Australian tribes. They declared them to be a savage and backward people, with no actual belief in a supreme being. And yet it would be incorrect to say that they had no "conception of an anthropomorphic supernatural

All-father living in the sky". A belief in such a being they may not have had, but their initiation-ceremonies bear unmistakable testimony to the existence of such a conception. These initiation-ceremonies were the occasion for imparting to the boys of a tribe such simple moral rules as the tribe possessed. The women and children were taught to believe that on the occasion of the initiation a spirit comes out of the bush, and taking the boy away with him, enters into him, and brings him back initiated. But as a matter of fact the boy learns at his initiation that the spirit creature, whom he had always regarded as all-powerful, is merely a myth. It is only a fable designed to frighten women and children. There was, indeed, one Northern Australian tribe, the Kaitish tribe, who possessed an actual belief in a spirit being. They conceived of him as living beyond the skies and letting down everything the black fellow has—his clubs and spears and boomerangs. But this tribe is so isolated, and its beliefs are so unique that it is looked upon as purely sporadic and peculiar. Consequently Messrs. Spencer and Gillen conclude, controverting those who look upon the initiation-ceremonies as witnessing to a belief once held but now lost, that there does not appear to be any evidence that their present beliefs are the result of degradation.

But the question at once, and naturally, arises to the mind, How can disbelief arise where there has been no preceding belief? Disbelief differs widely from no belief, and the puzzling fact of this disbelief calls for some satisfactory explanation. It is at this juncture that Comparative Religion comes in and vindicates its value by calling our attention to some illuminating facts culled from the beliefs of South Australian natives. Since Messrs. Spencer and Gillen wrote the account of their travels in Northern Australia, Mr. Howitt has published his *Native Tribes of South-Eastern Australia*. Though he denies that the aborigines have consciously any form of religion, inasmuch as they have no kind of worship or semblance of prayer, they yet have certain beliefs, and out of these beliefs, in favourable circumstances, an actual religion might

develop. They hold the universal belief in the existence of the human spirit after death. There the human spirits are supposed to exist in the same way as before death ; with the same tribal organisation and the same government by a Head-man. This great spirit Head-man is conceived of as a venerable, kindly being, full of all tribal wisdom of which he is the source, and with virtues and failings similar to the aborigines themselves. This being is known to the tribes as "our father". Some of us might think that the brink between religion and non-religion had here been crossed, but even if that is not the case there are in other parts of the world many peoples who have actually crossed the boundary line between the two. And so we have, "as it were, the actual process whereby religion is evolved from or supervenes upon antecedent phenomena of a non-religious kind".

Now, it is Mr. Howitt's contention that the natives have advanced to this state of belief, such as it is, from a state of absolute non-religion rather than that they have been degraded to it from some more conscious form of religion. He supports this contention by his observation that the regions where this belief obtains are the regions where group marriage has advanced into individual marriage and where social progress has been made.

It is, indeed, quite possible that both progressive and unprogressive tribes have lost a more advanced original belief, that is, that as far as religion is concerned, they are both in a state of degradation, but that the tribes which are progressing socially have been able to withstand this degradation more effectually than the other tribes which have made little or no social progress.

This, however, is a bye-question, and the point of immediate importance, in view of the contention that the initiation-ceremonies of the Northern tribes have never been connected with any inculcation of belief, is that the Southern tribes also possess initiation-ceremonies, at which the men do actually teach the boys to believe in the All-father, who is the giver of such moral laws as they possess.

To sum up the result of this comparison. We have in the Northern tribes certain initiation-ceremonies. In connexion with

these there is only the *conception* of a supernatural being, but no *belief* in one. Indeed the initiated boy is told that this conception is a myth. We are assured that this is not the result of degradation into disbelief from a belief once held. Then we are left with the puzzle, How can disbelief occur if there was no previous belief? At this point the student of the comparative method steps in and gives us solid grounds for believing that after all this disbelief does represent a degradation from a former state of belief. For he points us to the phenomena of the Southern tribes, where the same initiation-ceremonies occur in conjunction with a primitive but quite real belief. We might even go farther and say that it is not an impossible hypothesis that the supposed state of non-religion of some of the tribes does not necessarily imply that here we have the primitive condition of mankind; it may be that here we have only a similar case of retrogression.

By reference to an entirely different source Dr. Jevons strengthens this position. For in the Rev. Robert Nassau's *Fetichism in West Africa* we are confronted with precisely the same phenomena. In the interior, where foreign government is only nominal, the belief in a spirit connected with initiation is genuine, but where the tribes have come into contact with outside forces, the whole proceeding is regarded by the men in the light of a fiction.

Hebrew Religion.

Mr. Addis has written the latest volume in the Crown Theological Library (Messrs. Williams & Norgate), and his contribution, *Hebrew Religion*, brings to an interesting focus a large store of useful knowledge. Masses of carefully collected facts, and many an able explanation of them, have been lost to the world, simply because no one sufficiently versed in the requirements of the ordinary man, whose time for study is strictly limited, has been able or willing to undertake the task of judicious selection and forcible combination. To this task Mr. Addis has devoted his energies with happy results. Assuming throughout

the usual critical conclusions, he deals first with primitive forms of Semitic religion, and traces their roots far into the later life of Israel. After a chapter on the worship of Jehovah, he then proceeds to estimate the influence of settled life in Canaan upon the religion of the Hebrews. Subsequently he examines the work of the literary prophets down to the Deuteronomic Reform, and thence passes to the unknown prophet of the exile. He concludes by tracing the transition from prophetic to legal religion.

One of the most interesting chapters, in view of our previous remarks upon the comparative method, is that which deals with the primitive forms of Semitic religion. Beneath the customs and religious observances of the Hebrews, we are conscious of the presence of this Semitic tradition flowing as an undercurrent, sometimes well defined and sometimes indistinct, and we are led to a conclusion which Mr. Addis very happily expresses in the words, "Israel's religion did not end like natural religions, but it begins where they begin".

When once we get a clue to an original Semitic custom, it is astonishing how frequently we find the shadow of it falling across the narrative of Hebrew history. It illuminates many an obscure allusion, and gives point to many a strange command. Take as an instance the primitive worship of the dead. How many a time does the echo of this old note vibrate throughout the Old Testament? The sacred pillar, which stood by Jehovah's altar, stood also by Rachel's grave. Many a time did the prophets endeavour to uproot this superstitious belief, but never with entire success. In the last days of the Judæan Monarchy we meet with it, after the return from Babylon it is still a force in the land, and it lingers on in the Bedouin of to-day.

Such worship lies at the root of many a burial custom. As the Arabs even to-day pour oil and wine upon the graves of their dead, so there are allusions to prove that the Hebrews observed a similar rite. The Jewish mourners shaved their heads as in the days of the old hair offerings, and covered their faces before the dead lest they should see its spirit, just as Elijah covered his head with his cloak lest he should see Jehovah. When the Arabs dis-

solved dust from the grave into the water they drank their hope was that they might attain to communion with the dead, and a similar custom may have been lingering on when the Hebrew mourners sprinkled dust upon their heads. The sackcloth worn in sorrow was probably the relic of a sacred vestment (we read of the prophets wearing it), and the rending of the garment was preparatory to donning it. And just as Moses cast his shoes from off his feet when he approached the Burning Bush, so the modern Jew goes barefoot to the grave. Or yet again we might notice that the Arab's cry to the spirit of the dead, "Be not far off," may have its counterpart in the professional wailing at a Hebrew funeral.

Some of this may be conjecture ; some of it may, and probably does, rest upon a surer foundation, but the general line of the argument is supported by the incontestable fact that the prophets and the later legislation condemned the current ritual of the dead. "It was a primeval form of worship opposed to that of Jehovah, the one and only legitimate object of Israel's worship." When we once understand this we can appreciate the significance of the Jewish law and its declaration that even the least contact with a dead body made a man unclean.

"Christian Doctrine of Salvation."

That thoughts are often in the air before they are brought to earth and embodied in words will be readily recognised by many who read Dr. Stevens' *Christian Doctrine of Salvation* (International Theological Library, Messrs. T. & T. Clark). The book is divided into three parts : the Biblical Basis of the Doctrine ; the Principal Forms of the Doctrine ; and the Constructive Development of the Doctrine. The full force of the conclusions to which Dr. Stevens' examination of the Biblical basis of the doctrine conducts him is only realised when it is compared with the false and partial mediæval systems, which are somewhat severely criticised in the middle section of the book.

Briefly expressed, the Biblical doctrine of salvation re-

presents it as a recovery from sin. This conception gradually develops throughout the Old Testament, in spite of being often complicated with other strains of thought. In the prophetic view it was confused with the idea of national deliverance. In the legal system it was limited by the prominence given to ceremonial purification. But in both it was present as a germ. Turning to the New Testament we learn that it was the burden of the Baptist's preaching, and that it found its full and final expression when our Lord emphatically enforced it, and opened the way to its perfect realisation. While fundamentally the New Testament is united in this conception of sin, the subject is variously presented in accordance with the particular writer's point of view. Thus it is that diverse types of mind find their repose now in one and now in another of these points of view. The mind which thinks in terms of animal sacrifice will turn to Hebrews ; the mind of legal cast will dwell upon St. Paul's idea of satisfaction to law, while the mystic will cling to St. Paul's conception of an ethical death to sin, which forms the complement of his idea of satisfaction to law.

Much of the history of the subsequent doctrine is understood when it is realised that first one and then another of these conceptions was enforced one-sidedly, and pushed to totally unwarranted extremes.

The Biblical Basis of the Doctrine.

It will involve us in no waste of time if we briefly review the Biblical basis as Dr. Stevens sees it. And turning first to the practice of sacrifice, we may notice a very distinct sense in which it adumbrated our Lord's work. It was a constant reminder of sin, and fitly foreran Him who beyond all others made it His work to deepen the sense of sin. The ideas of self-renunciation, of devotion to God, and especially of mystic communion, which lay at the very root of the sacrificial system, were deeply entwined about the thought and work of Jesus, and prepared men's minds to profit by His mission. Difficulties only arise when sacrifice

is considered, in what appears to have been its later and less essential aspects, as something penal and substitutionary.

Certainly when we turn to the synoptic picture of our Lord we find Him laying the main stress of His teaching upon the necessity for a real moral righteousness; the exercise of all the offices of love to one's fellowmen. Summed in a sentence Jesus' message was, You must be and may be true sons of God. The Synoptic Gospels certainly lend no countenance to the assertion that Christ's chief object on earth was not to proclaim the gospel of salvation but, by dying as a sacrifice, to make possible that proclamation. Two or three texts, by no means free in their context from obscurity, and of somewhat doubtful interpretation, can be alleged for it, and against it stands the undivided witness of the great synoptic narrative. Our Lord "never spoke of His death in connection with the Divine law or justice or wrath, or applied to it any such term as atonement, reconciliation, satisfaction or substitution". And before He died He was always proclaiming the Divine forgiveness. Similarly we read in St. John's Gospel that sin is a state of darkness and moral death, and Christ is the bearer to the world of life and light; while the speeches recorded in the early chapters of the Acts contain no suggestion of substitutionary expiation. It only is when we turn to St. Paul that we get the outline of a fairly definite theory of substitutionary expiation, but his teaching on this point is never to be taken apart from that other teaching, which is its complement and justification, the teaching of the mystical union. It was the separation of those ideas and the undue emphasis which was laid upon the former and less essential, which led the middle ages into their most barren regions. Space forbids us to pursue this part of the subject farther, interesting though it undoubtedly is.

Historic Forms.

In Part II. Dr. Stevens proceeds to examine the principal forms which the doctrine has taken, the commercial theory of Anselm, the governmental theory of Grotius, the penal satisfaction theories, and the various modern theories.

Broadly speaking Anselm's theory, as contained in his *Cur*

Deus Homo, conceives of God as a private Dignitary who was offended by sin, and to whom Christ had to make reparation by payment of His life. It is called "commercial" because it is expressed in terms of payment and equivalence, but Dr. Stevens would prefer to call it the "feudal" theory, because it is one in which sin is viewed in the light of a shocking insult to the heavenly Majesty. Where Anselm fails is that he does not show why sin makes a real difference to God; he does not exhibit it as an offence against an eternal principle of right and truth. Nor does his plan allow for an essential connection between Christ and the saved. It is unethical and superficial; a theory built up in practical independence of Biblical materials.

The arguments by which Dr. Stevens shows that this commercial theory is repugnant to the modern mind are extremely searching. The theory cannot explain how redemption was originally brought about. It lands itself in an impossibility. Its first step is to separate justice and mercy in the Divine Nature. Justice, it says, is supreme and must be satisfied. How then can the inferior attribute, love, succeed in checking justice in its rightful claims? If it does succeed, it is surely stronger than justice. But again, even if we were to allow that justice and love are opposing factions in the Divine Nature, and that love although the weaker overcame justice which was the stronger, we are landed in the further difficulty that God's wrath punished the supreme object of His love—His Son. In fact the whole theory involves an unnatural dualism in the Divine Nature. It separates God into two parts—His love and His justice, and sets these at war one with the other. It resolves itself into saying that God is so just that He cannot forgive the guilty, and yet so unjust that He can punish the innocent. It fancies that man is saved by an apparatus of satisfaction and imputation wholly outside himself. It has never commended itself to the whole body of Christian people.

A system differing from Anselm's was that of Grotius. Where Anselm regarded sin as an offence against a private individual, Grotius regarded it as an offence against a public

law ; for it had been objected against Anselm's view that an offence against a private individual could be forgiven, but Grotius thought he was safe in saying that an offence against a public law must receive punishment. Therefore Grotius looks upon God as a great Governor, who has power to enforce law, and power on sufficient reason to relax it. And He is, indeed, willing to relax it in favour of repentant sinners, but, since He cannot allow the dignity of His government to suffer, He makes a penal example of Christ. But it may pertinently be asked, Does an official suffering really satisfy the honour of God's government ?

We are next introduced to the later theories which Dr. Stevens describes as theories of ethical satisfaction. Their praiseworthy aim was to connect the whole work of Christ with the actual life of man, and thus to show that His sufferings and death were not the condition which comes before salvation, but that they were the actual power of salvation. God is no longer likened to a political ruler, but thought of as a Father influenced by holy love. The death of Christ is in some mysterious way a supreme testimony to the guilt of sin : in His sufferings we behold the goodness and severity of God. This school denies that Christ was punished or God appeased by Christ's sufferings. It denies also the duality which says that justice must first be satisfied in order that mercy may work, and agrees that both must be linked together as equally constitutive parts of the nature of God. It retains, indeed, the terminology of the older theories, propitiation, reconciliation and satisfaction, but it invests them with a modified meaning.

The Points at Issue.

The Doctrine of the Atonement has a clear and definitely traceable history. The theories of Anselm and Grotius ; the penal, mystical and moral theories are sharply defined and stand clear for judgment. They may broadly be divided into two opposing groups, and Dr. Stevens finely draws the issue between them. There is the penal satisfaction group and the moral group.

The penal satisfaction group is based ultimately upon a dualism ; that is, it introduces division and antagonism into the Divine Nature by setting God's justice and mercy in opposition. It is kindred in spirit to the later Jewish legalism. It deals with something which is carried on outside man ; something which has to satisfy God's self and precede a man's salvation.

The moral group, on the other hand, takes its stand upon the actual transforming power of the personal relationship with Christ and of His direct influence. If the penal view arose from Jewish legalism, this moral view arose from our Lord's own conception of the Divine Fatherhood. It cannot regard Jesus' saving work as designed to satisfy warring attributes within God, His love and justice. It looks upon salvation rather as the actual rescue of the sinful sons of men to the Father's house and the Father's fellowship.

Perhaps the quotation of three sentences from Dr. Stevens' book will conduct us better than in any other way into the heart of the present thought on this great subject, as he conceives of it. "Christ lived, laboured, suffered and died, not to make God willing to save, but to show how willing He is and to make His eternal willingness effective. . . . Christ's death created no new fact in God." "Salvation is no mere acquittal, a letting-go or remission ; it is a recovery to God-likeness, to holiness." "The work of Christ is not a mere provision for man's salvation, or a condition precedent, but an *actual work of salvation*, a real moral recovery of men from sin to goodness. . . . Christ saves us by taking us into the fellowship of His own life of perfect love and sacrifice and by introducing us into a sonship of God like His own." Such a view is strongly opposed to the older and more mechanical theories, and it appeals to us, yet we think that Dr Stevens hardly emphasises sufficiently the fact that the older conceptions were stepping-stones to our present position ; that they were of greater practical assistance to an age accustomed to mechanical views of life than we, from our own standpoint, are apt to recognise ; and, finally, that they all bear witness to the great reality, which each age has cherished and expounded in terms

most satisfactory to its own requirements, that in our Lord Christendom has instinctively and persistently perceived the Saviour of mankind.

The Knowledge of God.

Professor Gwatkin's volumes on *The Knowledge of God* (Messrs. T. & T. Clark) are too valuable and weighty to be examined in a brief note, and we hope to return to them in our next issue, but one chapter has some remarks peculiarly pertinent to the subject we have just been discussing.

The object of the book, which is a republication of the Gifford Lectures for 1904-5, is to discuss the question whether, on grounds of reason alone, revelation is possible, and what form it may be expected to take. In one of the last chapters of the first volume Professor Gwatkin gives reasons for thinking that if there is to be a special revelation, God will deal in it with sin, for sin is a thing of our own creation. He then proceeds to show that God cannot banish sin, or merely exterminate the sinners, for sin put out of sight is not sin cured. And since fear cannot touch the evil will, it is a fatal mistake to suppose that the terrors of dire punishment can really eradicate sin. Similarly mere preaching against evil is as useless as the holding forth of terror.

In fact all our experience goes to show that personal influence alone can restore the fallen and the debased. And we have therefore solid grounds for our antecedent expectations that mediation will be a necessary part of any Divine plan of dealing with sin. But experience shows us something more ; it shows us that mediation in our own rescue work involves the suffering self-devotion of the innocent for the guilty. But the crucial point to observe, in view of our present purpose, is that the suffering for the guilty may be for their benefit, but cannot be in their stead. At this juncture Professor Gwatkin gives a concrete illustration, and we cannot do better than quote his words in full : " There are various objections good or bad to the general belief of Christians that Jesus of Nazareth died for us, in the sense of for our benefit (*ὕπὲρ ἡμῶν*, as always in the New Testament).

But if we set these aside for a moment, there are further objections to the particular belief of some Christians, that He died in our stead (*ἀντὶ ἡμῶν*, which is never found in the New Testament), and these further objections are not simply difficulties which might be explained, but sheer confusions of thought which no explanation can remove. If, then, there be mediation for men, it must be generally for their benefit; and we cannot say that it is in their stead, except in the very inaccurate way we have indicated."

POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN THEOLOGY AND SCIENCE.

REV. F. R. TENNANT, B.D., B.Sc.

I. HISTORICAL.

The position in which any generation stands with regard to the continuous process of adjustment of theological and scientific knowledge can perhaps be intelligently estimated only in the light of the history of the gradual attainment of that position. We need thus to take our present bearings, and to ascertain the relation of present-day opinion to the gradual movement of thought in the past, if we would direct our forward course with the maximum of effectiveness and the minimum of futile effort.

I propose, therefore, in the present article, to review the relations which have existed in the past between Christian theology and natural science before proceeding, in a later one, to discuss certain of the more important questions in which science and theology have a joint interest at the present time.

I. Theology and Science in the Patristic Period.

At the time when the Christian Church was planted the scientific spirit was not active in the world. Some centuries previously the foundations of several empirical sciences had been laid by a long line of philosophers richly endowed with scientific curiosity; but physical investigation had come to an end in Greece before the Christian era, and only survived in an enfeebled state at Alexandria. In the Greek period observations of some value had been accumulated, and several modern generalisations had been anticipated by brilliant guess-work. The inductive method, indeed, had been described by Aristotle; but it was certainly little used even by Aristotle himself, who

professed to deduce many of his doctrines by analysis of the notions involved in common language rather than to establish them by the more laborious process of experiment. In fact the ancients generally showed a great disinclination to the experimental investigation of Nature ; they preferred for the most part to speculate. And so the most impossible of opinions, if once expressed by a high authority, came to be credulously received as truths, and were transmitted without question or verification.

This attitude of mind, itself natural to the world at that time, was not disturbed by the growth of Christian thought. It was scarcely likely that theology would stimulate research by means of observation and experiment when science itself showed practically no such tendency. Indeed there were reasons which disposed many within the Church to attach scant importance to natural science of any kind. The belief prevailed that the present order was nearing its end and was destined to be superseded by a new heaven and a new earth. There was also a tendency, apart from this belief, to concentrate contemplative effort exclusively upon the spiritual life and its concerns. As compared with the serious tasks of religion, the study of Nature for itself may perhaps have seemed to many Christians to imply an idle and even reprehensible curiosity. The only valuable philosophy was that which concerned itself with moral duties and religious hopes. Thus Eusebius writes : "It is not through ignorance of the things admired by them (philosophers), but through contempt of their useless labours, that we think little of these matters, turning our souls to the exercise of better things".¹

Historians of the inductive sciences and of the relations between such sciences and theology have sometimes represented that certain of the Fathers regarded inquiry into the causes and nature of physical phenomena as in itself vain, no matter how it might be prosecuted ; and that they disparaged and discouraged scientific investigation as such. The passages in patristic literature cited in support of this charge do not, however, seem to me

¹ *Præf. Ev.*, xv., 61, cited by Whewell, *History of the Induct. Sciences*, i., 253.

to contain any such implication. Lactantius¹ expresses contempt for the endeavour, "by *disputation* and *conjecture*," to get to know the causes of things or to ascertain such points as "whether the sun is as large as he seems, or is many times larger than the whole of this earth; whether the moon is spherical or concave; whether the stars are fixed in the sky . . ."; and he calls this as senseless as "to discuss what we think of a city in a remote country, of which we never heard but the name." But *baseless speculation* as to matters of fact would certainly be as strongly discouraged and disparaged by modern science as it seems to have been by this fourth century Father; and what passed for natural philosophy in the age of Lactantius was probably little else than "disputation and conjecture". Had any such astronomical problem as Lactantius instances been solved at that time by empirical methods, it is possible that he would have distinguished, as St. Augustine certainly did, between true science and false, and would have shrunk from the assertion that such physical matters as he alludes to "cannot be known by man". Similarly, St. Basil,² who has been said to have depreciated science in his exposition of the account of the creation, really opposes there only fanciful allegorical interpretations and scientific speculations which, even if afterwards verified, were in his day unproved and baseless. Finally, St. Augustine, who appears to have shown some interest in natural objects and phenomena, heaps scorn upon certain scientists of his day expressly because they ignored the empirical method and indulged in *a priori* speculation.³ We must be careful then not to exaggerate the tendency of the great teachers of the patristic period to stifle or oppose scientific progress; and we must certainly abstain from imputing to them anything of the nature of obscurantism. Extremely little, if any, science was forthcoming in their age, whether within or without the pale of the Church; most of that which assumed the name was "falsely so called". I am aware of no evidence that the Fathers were hostile to empirically ascer-

¹ *Inst. Dio.*, III., iii. ² *Hexam.*, Hom. ix., etc.

³ *De Trin.*, iv. 21; and see Cunningham, *St. Austin*, p. 10 f., where the passage is cited.

tained physical facts, and of no attempt on their part, save in one direction shortly to be mentioned, to hinder the discovery and application of such knowledge. Nor can we blame them if they regarded the authority of Scripture on such matters as superior to that of the purely speculative human reason. So far from prejudging questions of ascertainable fact, we find St. Augustine protesting against the dangerous tendency, which would be natural enough to the Christian of his generation, to foreclose such inquiries on the supposed authority of Scripture. "It is a very disgraceful and pernicious thing," he writes, "and one greatly to be watched against, that any infidel should hear a Christian talking wild nonsense about the earth and the heaven, about the motions and magnitude and intervals of the stars, the courses of years and times, the nature of animals, stones and other matters of the same kind, pretending that he has the authority of Scripture on his side. The other who understands these things from reason or experience, seeing that the Christian is utterly ignorant of the subject, that he is wide of the mark by a whole heaven, cannot refrain from laughter." ¹

There is one, and I believe only one, instance of anything like conflict between theology or ecclesiastical authority and physical science during the period we have thus far been considering, and to this we must briefly allude. It consists in the opposition of some of the Fathers to a science of medicine. Of this opposition we may distinguish two forms. The one was directed against dissection of the human body, by means of which practice the young science of anatomy could alone hope to advance. This science had been transplanted from Greece to Alexandria, where it was pursued when Christianity found a home in Africa. It was there opposed by the Church, Tertullian's denunciation of Herophilus of Alexandria as "a butcher" serving as an instance of how far feeling on the subject was allowed to go. There was a strong prejudice in the old pagan civilisations against any interference with the bodies of the dead, and Galen did not dare to dissect the human subject in the

¹ *De Genes., ad lit., i. 39*, quoted by Cunningham, *loc. cit.*

second century at Rome. We can well understand that such a feeling would be greatly strengthened by the Christian beliefs that the human body was a temple of the Holy Spirit and was destined to rise again at the last day, while we may regret that a mistaken sentiment was allowed to place an obstacle, even at this early date, in the way of the progress of a noble and beneficial department of knowledge.

More regrettable, however, is the attitude taken up in the patristic period towards medical and surgical art, though at that time there was some excuse for it. All Christianised peoples, of course, long retained many of their pagan customs, notions and traditions. These were in some cases re clothed in Christian dress and perpetuated within the Church. Crude and superstitious beliefs in demons, magic, miraculously endowed relics and charms, were cherished by Christians generally, and indeed would appear to them to be recognised as real in their sacred Scriptures. Such beliefs tended to keep alive a view of the world similar in some respects to that of animism or fetishism, however qualified by faith in One Divine and Almighty Power behind Nature. The tendency was consequently almost universal to conceive of the world as not at all an ordered course of phenomena following one another in regular causal sequence, according to law. Such an anti-scientific mode of regarding Nature inevitably hid truth from men's eyes and delayed discovery. However, we are rather concerned at this point with particular survivals of lower forms of faith and cruder culture than with the general outlook upon the world which they exemplify. Those that have already been mentioned, namely, beliefs in demoniacal influences pervading the world on a vast scale, in magic and witchcraft, in charms and relics, though no creation of the Church itself and no part of the Christian Faith, though, in short, a human and not an ecclesiastical product, were the source of an opposition on the part of the Church to medical science which persisted through the Middle Ages. Christianity, like all other progressive religions, has indeed been hampered by the influence of surviving beliefs and practices derived from an earlier stage of faith.

The writings of many of the Fathers, *e.g.*, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Gregory of Nazianzus, testify to the general belief that diseases and infirmities were to be attributed not to material causes but to demoniacal agencies. The power of these malevolent spiritual beings, with which the air was held to be peopled, was believed to be almost unlimited. Origen only grudgingly admits to Celsus that demons might be instrumental, in a capacity compared with that of the public executioner, in producing such things as famine and pestilence.¹ Other early ecclesiastical writers, however, went farther, and encouraged the belief that disease was to be ascribed to these demons. Such being the supposed cause of human sicknesses, it would logically follow that ordinary physical cures would be inefficacious. Consequently, medical science was so far discountenanced,² and resort to 'pastoral healing' and thaumaturgic remedies was more or less encouraged. That the Church thus fostered to some extent a superstitious belief as to the causes and cures of disease, and thereby did something to retard the advance of sound medical knowledge, was unfortunate enough; but I do not think we can characterise this tendency by any harsher word. The attitude, where it existed, seems to have been sincere and honest, if mistaken; it involved no intention to stifle truth, nor even any suspicion that physical knowledge was dangerous.³

It may be mentioned that some of the Fathers, but by no means all, opposed in their day the idea that the world is round. This, however, was simply opposition of one speculation to another, not a case of antagonism between theological doctrine and observed fact. The time for empirical proof of the earth's sphericity had not yet come. Several ecclesiastical writers of

¹ *Con. Celsum*, viii., 31.

² Nevertheless we find St. Basil, for instance, speaking of the gratitude due from man to the Creator for His gift of medicinal herbs, etc. (*Hexam.*, v., 4).

³ I am unable to confirm the accuracy of references, given by Fort in his work on medical methods in the Middle Ages, and reproduced in White's *Warfare of Science*, to passages supposed to show that some of the Fathers held very extreme views as to the futility of surgical or medical cures, the superior efficacy of "imposition of hands," the solely demoniacal origin of diseases, etc. The latter author (vol. ii., 26) attributes to St. Ambrose the assertion that "the precepts of medicine are contrary to celestial science, watching and prayer," but gives no reference as to where it occurs.

this period also rejected the opinion that antipodes existed. But this again was a speculation for which no evidence was forthcoming, and one for which intelligent men may easily be pardoned for then considering fanciful. It was a belief, moreover, which was not always opposed on Biblical authority alone, but also, in the case of St. Augustine at least, upon empirical grounds. The position thus adopted by several Christian writers proved, indeed, at a later time to be untenable; but we must judge those writers in the light of the knowledge of their own day, not in that of our own.

We have now measured the extent to which hindrance or opposition was offered from a theological standpoint to such pursuit of science as was carried on during the patristic age. We have seen that there was more indifference than active antagonism. That science was stagnant during this period is not largely, if at all, to be attributed to the influence of the Church. We cannot feel sure that the knowledge of Nature would have been considerably advanced in the age of the Fathers had the Church not come into being. Its scant progress was due rather to general causes, which operated independently of the Church as well as within its sphere of influence; causes which, for the most part, existed before Christianity appeared. Science, moreover, had not as yet discovered any facts at variance with general theological beliefs; conflict between theology and science was not yet possible. The authority of the Scriptures was pitted against *a priori* speculations on scientific questions, not against empirically established facts or laws. It remains to be mentioned, however, that during the age of the Fathers was forged the chain with which the Church was destined to fetter science in a subsequent period. The patristic age was an age of elaboration of doctrine; and the system of doctrine which it produced included statements on matters which fall within the province of physical science. A natural philosophy, derived largely from the Old Testament and fashioned under the guidance of the Christian doctrine of Redemption, was one of the established possessions of the Church when the night of the dark

ages closed down upon it. And the finality of the ecclesiastical cosmogony and anthropology was grounded in the belief in the inerrancy of Scripture: in the theory of Biblical inspiration which became dominant in the Church during the patristic age. The literal interpretation of the Biblical cosmogony was by no means universally upheld by the Fathers; St. Augustine and Gregory of Nyssa, for instance, read into it something like an evolutionary theory of creation. It was, nevertheless, the more general and popular method of exegesis, and even the allegorical and mystical interpretation of Genesis, which predominated in some quarters, encouraged the prevailing idea that the sacred books were of the nature of oracles, and that even numerical statements contained in them possessed some occult significance. Thus there grew up the almost universal belief in the infallible authority of the Bible as to matters of physical fact, which was afterwards so productive of disastrous consequences. It appeared to follow from it that Genesis was one of the bases of Christianity; that a science of Nature had been divinely revealed, admitting of no advance and of no correction. The ecclesiastical account of the world was framed quite apart from observation, and there was no body of ascertained facts by which it might be supplemented or corrected. This was a misfortune for which we cannot blame the Fathers. Indeed we cannot justly ridicule them for the childish elements in their teaching concerning many natural objects and phenomena; they could but adopt such pseudo-science as lay to hand when as yet there were no good reasons for rejecting it.

II. Theology and Science in the Middle Ages.

We pass now from the patristic to the scholastic period. This was almost as sterile in physical discovery; partly for the same reasons which account for the absence of scientific effort in the preceding centuries, and partly for reasons which had since come to exist.

In the first place, the conception of Christianity as a complete

system of philosophy of God, man and the world, was further developed by the schoolmen. The body of doctrine which had been elaborated by the Fathers was now extended, systematised, commented on and supported by philosophical reasoning. *Credo ut intelligam* well sums up the tendency characteristic of scholastic thought, at least from the time of Anselm. Philosophy became the servant of theology, a means of confirming and interpreting what was accepted as revealed, and theology did not recognise science as distinct from itself. The elaboration of an unsystematic natural philosophy, which was itself a branch of theology, out of the Bible and the patristic writings, proceeded in the hands of Bede, and more especially in the hands of the Summists; facts being sometimes adapted to the interpretation of Scripture. Doctrines concerning the world of Nature passed more and more into dogma to be received on authority; and error or dissent on such subjects became more identified with heresy. Already, at the end of the fourth century, Philaster, Bishop of Brescia, had included certain opinions on matters of scientific import in his list of heresies. In the eighth century, St. Boniface procured the temporary deposition of Virgilius of Salzburg for expressing belief in the existence of antipodes. Cases of persecution, however, were rare until the close of the Middle Ages.

Again, though the scholastic period was an age of learning, only such learning was encouraged as ministered to the knowledge of God. Knowledge of natural objects and phenomena was only cultivated for spiritual edification. Animals and plants were noticed only in so far as their forms or habits suggested or illustrated verses of Scripture or religious ideas. We find this attitude towards them in perhaps their greatest lover in the Middle Ages, St. Francis of Assisi; and it is characteristic of the *Physiologus* and the *Bestiaries*, works on natural history with a pious motive, which had a large circulation in the Middle Ages. There was also current during this period a curious Nature-symbolism, which found in natural objects symbols, divinely purposed, of spiritual things. In these senses Nature might be

said to have been, for the mediæval Christian, a book traced with the finger of God. But it would only be, as it were, an edifying picture-book, not a written revelation of God's mind and will, or a unique record of His work.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that the Middle Ages possessed a religious explanation of Nature, and knew no need for any other. A physical explanation was impossible, from the conditions and presuppositions of scholastic thought. It should be remembered, however, that all the great thinkers throughout the series of centuries which we call the Middle Ages were not cast in the same mould. There were variations from the type. And it should be mentioned at this point that now and again there appeared signs of discontent with the exclusive pursuit of the dialectic method of scholasticism, and evidence that the scientific spirit was not dead. Richard of St. Victor, writing before the re-discovery of Aristotle, placed "experience" alongside of reason and faith as a source of knowledge, and asserted the true nature of natural science in his statement that "Physics discovers causes from their effects, and effects from their causes".¹ Vincent of Beauvais, had he been able to withstand the irresistible attraction of theological studies and methods, might have been remembered as an astronomer, a botanist and a zoologist. Indeed it is probable that not a few great men were lost to science in the scholastic period because they were forcibly diverted from its pursuit, either by the inherent coercive power of the supreme and exclusive science of theology, or by the actual intervention of ecclesiastical authority. An illustration of the latter possibility is to be found in Albertus Magnus, the teacher of Aquinas. This great and comprehensive-minded man was profoundly interested in the study of Nature. He was a pioneer in scientific botany, and had begun to lay the foundations of physical geography, before he was compelled by the Dominican Order to desist from such investigations and adhere to theology. But the greatest loss inflicted in the name of theology upon natural science during the Middle Ages—and it was an immense

¹ *Lib. Excerpt.*, I., vii., cited by Whewell.

and irreparable one—was the suppression of the investigations of Roger Bacon. This remarkable thinker was several centuries in advance of his generation, and anticipated that reform in scientific method which is usually associated with his namesake Francis. While Aquinas was yoking Christianity to Aristotelianism, Bacon, following the example of Bishop Grossetête, was asserting the supremacy of the empirical method, and protesting against the baneful influence of authority and tradition upon the progress of natural knowledge. This was the one great new departure in the scientific direction which ecclesiastical authority in the scholastic age was called upon to deal with. There were no fresh physical doctrines condemned, because there were none to condemn; but Bacon's attempt to introduce a new method was received with something more than discouragement. The belief that science was dangerous was now displacing the feeling that it was futile, and scientific inquiries were beginning to meet with forcible repression. The Inquisition had been founded, and had already obtained victims from the ranks of science. In 1316 Peter of Albano had only escaped it by death, and in 1327 Cæco d'Ascoli, Professor of Astronomy, was driven from his chair at Bologna and then burnt. The case of Roger Bacon was the first instance in our country of an attempt to crush science; and it illustrates the prevalence, especially among the less highly educated, of the conviction that science was allied to magic, which in turn was connected with the powers of evil. The desire to study the works of God was taken by many as a sign of being in league with the devil.

We shall not be surprised, after what has been said, to find that the opposition to medicine, which had its beginning in the patristic period, was perpetuated in the Middle Ages. This science did, indeed, find a place in the courses of study prescribed to schools and universities. But the monks taught, for the most part, only what seemed to conduce to religion; and when they resorted, as they sometimes did, to physical cures and scientific research, they now and again received an authoritative check. The medical school of Salerno, for instance, prescribed rules for

diet, implying that disease had a natural cause; and this was resented. Resort to surgeons was discouraged, and men in high places held it to be an offence against religion for a monk to take medicine. The council of Tours, 1163, forbade "the study of physics or the laws of the world" on pain of excommunication; and in 1243 the Dominicans disallowed to their order the pursuit of medical knowledge and of natural philosophy. Medical science was, however, encouraged by Charlemagne and Alcuin, who promoted herb-gardening in this connexion; and anatomy was allowed under Frederick II. But the latter science was still generally forbidden, and it only fought its way back with difficulty in the seventeenth century.

There is but one important point which emerges from this brief review of the relations of theology and science in the mediæval period. It is the transition, in some degree, from indifference towards fanciful attempts at the acquisition of scientific knowledge to the suppression of such as were sound and promised to be fruitful; the transition from contempt for the uselessness of science to fear of its dangerousness. Had physical science been born in the patristic age, instead of after the bloom of scholasticism, it would probably have encountered less ecclesiastical opposition than, as we are about to see, it actually did.

III. Theology and Science in the Modern Period.

We come now to the age of the great founders of modern science.

It should be borne in mind that these men were Churchmen, and that many amongst them were distinguished for their personal devoutness. And it should also be observed that they were guided in their researches by ideas which they had derived from their religious faith. An eminent German scientist wrote some thirty years ago the following remarkable words: "Though it may sound like a paradox, modern science owes its origin to Christianity". This writer has especially in view the influence of the monotheistic conception of the Power behind the universe,

and he continues : " This idea of God, handed down for ages and from generation to generation, came at last to react upon science itself, and, by accustoming the human mind to the conception of a unique reason for things, kindled in it the desire to know that reason ".

It is certainly true that the theistic faith was one of the main guiding principles of the researches of the founders of physical science.¹ The perfection of God implied His veracity ; and the veracity of God was an important idea, not only for the philosophical system of Descartes, where it is elaborately proved and then made a necessary element in that philosopher's theory of human knowledge of the world, but also in the minds of the scientific investigators of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is to them the guarantee of the trustworthiness of the human reason, and also the basis of the principle of constancy and simplicity in Nature. Copernicus tells us that he was stimulated to search for a *simpler* astronomical principle than that of Ptolemy, because the ever-increasing complexity of the cycles and epicycles which that system required to postulate, seemed to betray its falsity, its incongruity as a description of the creation of an all-wise God, the best and most regular of workers. " Thus it was," he says, " that I began to reflect upon the question of the earth's motion." Kepler was similarly led, by his belief in the unity and infinite wisdom of the Creator, to search for the harmony of the universe. " Since God," he writes, " is a unique intelligence, the character of the laws which He has given to the universe must be unity and universality." It was the *simplicity* of the principle of Copernicus that led Galileo to embrace and develop it ; and Newton, who gives " simplicity " as one among the *a priori* rules by which our study of Nature should be directed, asks " Is it not a proof that we are approaching to God when we arrive at laws more simple and more general ? "

In this influence of the theistic idea on the birth of modern physical science we have the one marked instance which history

¹ For a fuller treatment of this point see Naville, *La Physique Moderne*, whence some references given below are derived.

affords of a direct impulse given by theology to scientific research and the discovery of scientific truth. And we may observe that this impulse proceeds from an essential element in Christian doctrine. Of the less happy influences which theological thought has exerted upon the progress of natural knowledge, we can say, on the other hand, that they, one and all, proceed from beliefs which are not essential elements of the Christian Faith, or from a moral attitude which has no sanction either in the example and teaching of the Founder of that Faith or in the enlightened Christian consciousness.

It was recognised by the fathers of modern science that research must be freed from the domination of the belief that the authority of Scripture extends over the interpretation of Nature. Galileo and Bruno asserted that the Scriptures were meant to teach morals, not science; and this was perhaps the best ground for a reconciliation of science and the Bible at that time, when Biblical criticism was not. Francis Bacon also protested against the admixture of theology and science. "Yet some moderns," he writes, "have indulged this folly with such consummate inconsiderateness, that they have endeavoured to build a system of natural philosophy on the first chapter of Genesis, the Book of Job and other parts of Scripture; seeking the dead among the living. And this folly is the more to be prevented and restrained, because not only fantastical philosophy, but heretical religion, springs from the absurd mixture of matters divine and human. It is therefore most wise soberly to render unto faith the things that are faith's."¹ Here Bacon has in mind the attitude of the Fathers and schoolmen; strangely enough he himself had not accepted the recent great discoveries and generalisations in physical science which rendered his own new method belated and which were destined to excite a more serious conflict between natural philosophy and theology than had been known before. Elsewhere the same writer speaks forcibly of the ignorant restraint which some divines would put upon scientific investigation. "Some," he says, "in their simplicity are appre-

¹ *Novum Organon*, Bk. I., lxxv.

hensive that a too deep inquiry into Nature may penetrate beyond the proper bounds of decorum, transferring and absurdly applying what is said of sacred mysteries in Holy Writ against those who pry into divine secrets, to the mysteries of Nature, which are not forbidden by any prohibition. Others with more cunning imagine and consider that if secondary causes be unknown, everything may more easily be referred to the Divine hand and wand, a matter, as they think, of the greatest consequence to religion, but which can only really mean that God wishes to be gratified by means of falsehood. Others fear, from past example, lest motion and change in philosophy should terminate in an attack upon religion. Lastly, there are others who appear anxious lest there should be something discovered in the investigation of Nature to overthrow, or at least shake, religion, particularly among the unlearned. The two last apprehensions appear to resemble animal instinct, as if men were diffident in the bottom of their minds and secret meditations, of the strength of religion and the empire of faith over the senses, and therefore feared that some danger awaited them from an inquiry into Nature. But any one who properly considers the subject will find natural philosophy to be, after the Word of God, the surest remedy against superstition, and the most approved support of faith. She is, therefore, rightly bestowed upon religion as a most faithful attendant; for the one exhibits the will and the other the power of God. . . . In the meanwhile it is not wonderful that the progress of natural philosophy has been restrained since religion, which has so much influence on men's minds, has been led and hurried to oppose her through the ignorance of some and the imprudent zeal of others."¹

Other writers at the beginning of the modern period argued in the same strain—some of them ecclesiastics, like Nicholas of Cusa. But the belief in the infallible truth of the Biblical record of Creation, reinforced by the Reformation,² was destined to die

¹ *Op. cit.*, ed. by J. Devey, Bk. I., lxxxix.

² To give one instance of the attitude of Protestant divines, Peter Martyr taught that if the account of the creation in Genesis be not true, "all the promises of Christ fall into nothing, and all the life of our religion would be lost". Cited by White, *op. cit.*

extremely slowly. At the period of the Renaissance and of the birth of modern science it had scarcely begun to be the power for evil which afterwards it continued long to be.

We have now to trace very briefly the stages in the emancipation of science, and the influence of scientific discoveries upon theological doctrine.

The science first to arrive definitely at facts inconsistent with hitherto received opinion was geography, which, it will be remembered, had long ago suggested possibilities seemingly incompatible with the statements or implications of Holy Scripture. The prejudice against the sphericity of the earth and the existence of antipodes, though not shared by all ecclesiastics, was still powerful in the fifteenth century, and pressure was brought to bear upon Columbus, in the name of Bible and religion, with a view to dissuading him from undertaking what was declared to be "a futile enterprise". Columbus nevertheless persisted, and set out in 1492. Five years later De Gama commenced his voyage of discovery; and in 1519 followed that of Magellan. The earth was now conclusively proved to be round, and the antipodes were actually seen. This was the first blow delivered against the ancient view of the world.

But the first which can be said to have told with much force upon the theological foundations of the ancient view was the upsetting of the Ptolemaic astronomy. The great work of Copernicus on the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, as is well known, was kept back from publication by its author for thirty-six years, through fear of ecclesiastical authority. In 1543 it was given to the world, and we need not recall how it was received. In 1600 Bruno was burned, and in 1632 Galileo was compelled by the Inquisition to abjure his teaching as to the motion of the earth. The new truth, however, was gradually accepted. The period of persecution gave way to that of reconciliation. It became clear after a time that Christianity could survive the loss of the Biblical astronomy; and though it was not until 1835 that the works of Galileo were removed from the *index expurgatorius*, his views were received by all the world long before that date. The

one point really at issue between theology and science, namely, the traditional theory of Biblical inspiration, was therefore fully decided many generations ago. One would have thought that after the assured victory of the new astronomy, not to speak of the still earlier consequences of geographical discovery, the other sciences would have been allowed to arrive at their unexpected results without serious opposition, at least from such as were acquainted with the nature and issues of earlier controversies and were alive to the real and only principle involved. This, however, was by no means actually the case.

So when geology emerged as a science, and began to accumulate facts which pointed to another series of discrepancies between the Biblical cosmology and the irrefragable testimony of the rocks, it had to fight the long battle of astronomy over again.

Fossils had been observed, and their true nature as remains of real organisms declared, by Xenophanes. But this shrewd conclusion of the Greek philosopher was apparently not voiced again until the sixteenth century. Tertullian had seen in fossil shells an indication of the deluge; and on such a view, natural enough in his time, was based in the early days of geology, a compromise between Genesis and science which was considered until quite a recent date as satisfactory. In 1517 Fracastoro of Verona rejected this opinion, as also the scholastic recourse to "plastic force," or "lapidifying juice," or "spontaneous generation," in order to account for fossil remains. This Italian observer's "clear exposition of the evidence," writes Sir Charles Lyell,¹ "would have terminated the discussion for ever, if the passions of mankind had not been enlisted in the dispute". As a matter of fact it was two or three centuries before the true explanation of fossils was generally received.

Woodward, writing in 1695, displayed a great anxiety to accommodate all observed geological phenomena to the Scriptural accounts of the Creation and the Deluge. Burnet and Whiston, at about the same time, wrote more fancifully with a similar purpose.

¹ *Principles of Geology*, 1835, vol. i., p. 33.

The truth concerning the nature of fossils conflicted with the belief in the recent origin of the world and with the doctrine that death entered into the world in consequence of man's sin. Very soon the universality of the deluge was called in question, the creation of the world in six days was rendered incapable of belief, and the configuration of the earth's crust was assigned to secondary causes such as are now observed to be in operation. It was but slowly that these new doctrines gained general acceptance. As late as 1750 Buffon was compelled by the Sorbonne to "abandon everything in his book respecting the formation of the earth, and, generally, all which may be contrary to the narrative of Moses"; while, nearly a century later, Sir Charles Lyell was ostracised for expressing, in the most cautious and guarded language, more developed views of a similar kind.

Meanwhile other difficulties had gathered round the story of the deluge and the ark. The distribution of animals over the earth had been a puzzle for St. Augustine. But when America and Australia were discovered, each with its peculiar fauna, the difficulty felt by St. Augustine became immensely increased. By what causeway, for instance, had the kangaroo passed from Mount Ararat to Australia, or venomous snakes to the American continent? When Linnæus enumerated no less than 4,000 known species of animals, the ingenuity of the reconciler was seen to be overtaxed.

To return, however, to the series of greater discoveries and generalisations which science continued to advance during the nineteenth century. Next in time and in importance to the replacement of cataclysmal by uniformitarian geology, and the revelation that the earth had gradually attained to its present form through an age-long series of secondary causes, was the substitution of the doctrine of organic evolution for the belief in what was called the 'special creation' of living forms. The fixity of species had long been as much a scientific as a theological belief. Originally grounded on the authority of Aristotle as well as upon the more natural interpretation of Genesis, this had indeed been

the prevailing view with divines. One or two of the Fathers, as we have seen, had, however, repudiated the idea of the special creation and fixity of species, or, at least, considered the choice between it and the alternative view as open ; and in this some of the schoolmen had agreed. But in the seventeenth century the doctrine that species were unalterable, and that there were exactly so many of them as had been originally created, came to be identified with both theological and scientific orthodoxy. Milton was largely responsible for fixing it in popular religious thought ; and his contemporary Ray, who was soon supported by the great authority of Linnæus, first caused it to be generally adopted in scientific circles. And so, when Darwin was arriving at the contrary conviction, he feared as much opposition from the representatives of science as from ecclesiastical authority, or what he called "that Corporate Animal, the Clergy". The new teaching was the slower in commending itself to the Church partly on account of its anticipated application to man, and partly because certain eminent men of science, such as Hæckel and Lewes, hailed it as destructive of the teleological argument from Nature to God or aggressively and prematurely urged its alleged incompatibility with Christian theology. The doctrine of transformation of species, however, soon freed itself from materialistic associations with which it had gratuitously been invested by such writers. Huxley, indeed, with his usual candour and honesty, became foremost among scientific thinkers to show that evolution afforded no opposition to the theological doctrine of creation, and that, if it destroyed the form of teleological argument which had been inherited from Paley, it nevertheless itself suggested a wider teleology. For this reason, and also because the organic view of the world tended to re-emphasise the divine omnipresence which, while the mechanical conception of the world ruled scientific, and deism infected theological, thought, had become a more or less obscured or forgotten truth, the majority of educated Churchmen were not long in becoming convinced that the establishment of the doctrine of development would prove a positive boon to Christian theology. Darwin's own feeling that there is "a grandeur in

this view of life " has now become general amongst thoughtful Christians.

The few years succeeding the publication of *The Origin of Species*, the first edition of which appeared in 1858, were, however, very stormy. In 1860, just when the contents of Darwin's book had become familiar to the general public, the volume entitled *Essays and Reviews* brought another violent shock to the minds of many Churchmen. And yet again, after another interval of two years, came Bishop Colenso's criticism of the Hexateuch, to increase an excitement already intense.

We marvel now, perhaps, that each of these successive in-rushes of new ideas excited afresh the opposition of the bulk of Christian people. For we can plainly see that at bottom there was only one great principle at stake, and that the same which already had been repeatedly called in question, and indeed obviously proved to be at fault, *viz.*, the assumption that the inspiration of the Old Testament was of such a nature as to invest the Biblical cosmology with the character of revealed physical truth. Apart from the implied negation of this pre-supposition, it is difficult to see what bearing the doctrine of organic evolution, or the discovery of discrepancies between the Hexateuch and natural science, could have upon theology. The acceptance of the Copernican astronomy was really an admission that the Bible was no longer to be looked upon as divinely intended to communicate information on physical matters which men are able to discover by their natural faculties ; and after the controversy over Galileo's teaching the religious difficulty should have ceased to be felt. But evidently this admission was *not* made unreservedly ; the old ideas of revelation and inspiration were not modified as logic required them to be. When fresh difficulties arose the old dispute was joined ; the ground of the battle was shifted, but the cause of fighting was the same ; and when new discoveries came at brief intervals, the very combatants also were the same. Nor was the matter settled when the findings of science ceased to bewilder as startling novelties, and were accepted as abiding facts. Opposition was succeeded

by reconciliation. The old bottles, it was fondly hoped by many, might adapt themselves to the new wine; the rent text be mended with the new interpretation. We are familiar with the futile efforts of reconcilers, who, while straining to accept modern discoveries and theories, have endeavoured to preserve the old belief in the infallibility of the Bible. While parleying as to terms with the adverse army of science in their front, they have been oblivious of the fact that their rear and flank have been already commanded by the forces of historical and literary criticism.

I have represented that the later stages of this conflict on behalf of the inspiration of Scripture were logically indefensible. But to understand the remarkable tenacity with which the old presupposition was contended for, we need to remember that logic would have relatively a small part to play, save with those whose studies had disciplined them into recognising its supremacy over sentiment. We have to bear in mind how intimately the Englishman's religion had been associated for centuries with reverence for the letter and authority of Scripture. That being assured, the rest was easy for him. But confidence in that plain and definite guide being once unsettled, we are well aware how he scarce knows where to turn for a foundation for his most cherished beliefs and hopes. The loss of a Bible equally inspired and infallible in all its parts was to him really a bereavement. No wonder the beliefs of his forefathers in this matter were fought for with that tenacity which refuses to know when it is beaten.

But now the new truth is established, and many, at least, can say the truth has made them free. And if they look wistfully back to a time when a simpler and more definite theory of Biblical authority sufficed, they nevertheless realise that such a theory was of those things of childhood which ripper Christian wisdom requires the Church to put away. However, this is not the occasion to enlarge upon the positive gain and advantage to theology of the changed attitude towards the Scriptures which modern knowledge has evoked. When we pass on to consider

the new light which Science has poured upon the origin and primitive condition of man, we find that such opposition as it received from theology was not based solely on the authority of Scripture, but also on natural sentiments connected with the dignity of the human species, and traditional presuppositions as to what kind of origin and early state could alone be consistent with the essential truth that man bears the image of God. The doctrine of the descent of man from a lower animal form, and of his gradual development in civilisation, morality and religion, was accordingly resisted by some apologists with greater vehemence than former scientific revelations. For the acceptance of the evolution theory in its universal form at the hands of scientific men, "it is," as Darwin said, "but the first step which costs"; but for the general public, inclined to judge a theory rather by its consequences than by its evidence, it is, as he again said, "the last mouthful that chokes". The prejudice against the brute origin of mankind is still frequently to be met with, although the theory is perhaps no longer described as a "gospel of dirt". This prejudice seems to imply that man cannot be man because we see the stages by which he came to be what he is. Curiously enough Darwin himself confesses to a similar prejudice; for he tells us of his distrust of the human reason, especially in connexion with religion and revelation, because of the probable development of that reason out of humbler faculties, such as those of the beasts. But reason *is* reason, no matter how it came to be; and similarly man is man—with no disparagement to his God-like prerogatives—whether he be the climax of a gradual process of development or an immediate new creation. The evolution of man's bodily nature is now commonly conceded; but the special creation of his soul or spiritual nature is sometimes held to be necessary to Christian theology. This question, however, is one upon which little or no light has been thrown in the past, and it therefore hardly calls for discussion in the present article.

We have in fact now been brought down to our own day in this brief review of the successive stages of the adaptation of theological conceptions to the enlarged knowledge of the world,

put within our reach by the accumulation of scientific facts and the elaboration of scientific theories. It has not been necessary to allude to minor points about which dispute has been joined by individuals or small sections of Churchmen; I have passed over without mention, for instance, such cases of hostility as the resistance which was offered to the inclusion of comets within the realm of physical law and secondary causation; to the introduction of the lightning-rod; to inoculation against disease; to the use of anæsthetics at childbirth on the ground of the text: "In sorrow thou shalt bring forth children"; to the first appearance of sound views as to the origin of language. These are but relatively unimportant features in the history of the adjustment of the mind of the Church to new truth and new methods. I may conclude this historical review with a brief allusion to what is in all probability the last case of discrepancy between the Bible and science ever to tax the thought of our Church. This question settled, the long conflict will be wholly a thing of the past. It is that of the incompatibility of the narrative of Gen. ii., iii., from which important doctrines have been deduced, such as stand or fall with the historical nature of that story, with the teaching and the suggestions of anthropology and kindred sciences. We are encouraged by natural science to believe that the human race possessed at the outset less morality and religion than is necessarily implied in the Biblical account of the first transgression. We are also warned that in the present state of our knowledge it is highly precarious to assume that a derangement of human nature, which theology has alleged to have been caused by the sin of our first parents, could be transmitted by heredity. Whether evolutionary anthropology and ethics, which are still *sub judice*, will eventually emerge as established sciences, remains to be seen. Certainly there is already good ground for such a hope. But in any case we shall have learned from the past not to resist their conclusions on the ground of Biblical authority; we have now reconciled ourselves to the existence of so much, in the account which the Old Testament gives of the early history of the world, that is not scientific fact, that it is not worth while

to vindicate the truth of the residue. We can no longer attribute to the opening chapters of Genesis an inspiration which qualifies them to be a basis for a doctrine of human nature ; for a Christian anthropology, as well as for a cosmogony, the Church must look to science, not to the Old Testament. And it seems to me that so long as man's moral freedom is secured, any theory as to the origin of man, soul as well as body, conscience as well as passions, is capable of assimilation with the fundamental concepts and dogmas of Christianity.

(To be continued.)

Mr. Tennant's second paper will deal with : *Points of Contact between Theology and Science at the Present Time* :—

1. The Being of God.
2. The Doctrine of Creation.
3. The Origin of Man.
4. The Moral Faculty : the Evolutionary View of Sin.
5. The Wider " Evolution " and Theology.
6. Human Immortality.
7. The Doctrine of a Plurality of Worlds.

PAGAN REVIVALISM AND THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

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The opinion was stated by Mommsen in his epoch-making study in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, 1890, pp. 389-429, that the Roman Imperial government during the first two centuries was usually unwilling to carry into effect by active measures of repression the deep-seated and unavoidable opposition between it and the Christian Church, but that isolated outbreaks of repressive activity occurred when it was forced to act by the pressure of the general hatred which was felt by the pagan population for the Christians. That there is a great deal of truth in this view is acknowledged. That it is not complete and sufficient, but one-sided, the present writer has always maintained. The relation between the popular dislike and the Imperial disapproval is not so simple as Mommsen's view would make it. It was not simply a case in which the one pushed and the other was unwillingly impelled.

It is quite acknowledged by every one that in the great persecutions the relation changed. The Imperial government was then intensely active, and probably went far beyond public sentiment. At the beginning of the period of persecution Tacitus expressly declares that Nero's action, while beginning by using the public dislike for Imperial purposes, soon went far beyond, and was felt as an outrage by, popular judgment. In the account which is given in the Apocalypse of Domitian's persecution the same impression is conveyed. The Imperial government, the Beast that appears from the sea, is described as the active and directing power, the great implacable unwearied enemy. Thus alike at the beginning and the end the Imperial policy is seen to

be actively stimulating, instead of being simply pushed on by, popular feeling.

None of these facts are denied. All are admitted universally, except that the historical value and meaning of the evidence contained in the Apocalypse might be contested by some. The difference of opinion is with regard to the intermediate period. It is admitted on all hands that there was a middle time, lasting at least from Trajan to the accession of Decius, in which persecution was intermittent and fitful. During this period popular feeling was more effective, and the Imperial government was in general more inert ; but the fits of activity were probably very much of the same general character as in the first and last stages.

The difference, then, between these views is chiefly a matter of degree, and not of essential opposition. In such a case it is always desirable to get away from generalities and come to individual definite facts. Much of the long controversy about the nature of the persecutions has been due to the want of clear facts, and the restriction of the discussion to generalities. The narratives of martyrdoms furnished the whole store of facts, and these provoked almost more controversy than the persecutions ; they were necessarily one-sided, strongly prejudiced against the government, and the last thought of the writers was to give a fair statement of the views entertained by the Imperial government ; moreover, their date and credibility was often very doubtful, and very few were universally admitted to be documents contemporary with the events or founded on contemporary evidence.

It would be valuable in this doubt to have some evidence giving the views and ideas of the other side, the Government and the common people. A little evidence of this kind has gradually been accumulating during the last twenty years, and it is well to bring it together and consider its bearing on the subject.

If the question be asked how the relation between the Imperial Government and popular opinion was made operative practically, the first answer that suggested itself would probably be taken from the most familiar and universally accepted of all

the Acts of Martyrs, the story of Polycarp—that the clamour of the people forced their opinion and wish on the attention of persons in authority. Attention has been concentrated on this almost exclusively, and the restriction has inevitably suggested that, while popular opinion by its clamour influenced the Emperors, no influence was exercised by the Emperors on popular opinion.

The method of clamour and even riot was certainly used, but it could never be so effective in an Empire that extended round the whole Mediterranean as in a great city or a small compact country. It was not the only method, and it was not the telling method. There was a way in which the Imperial Government could learn almost directly the wishes of the Provinces and communicate its views to them. This was through the Assembly or Commune of the Province, a body composed of representatives of the cities and districts meeting for purposes chiefly religious, but religion was not so separate from social and political life then as it is now. The Commune united the whole Province in the state religion, and was the concrete expression of its patriotism and its sense of the Imperial unity. The Emperor, as the incarnate god in whose worship and service the Commune met, was the head of the religion from every point of view : he was the present god, and he was the supreme priest. The ancient mind was familiar with the idea that the god was the first and original priest of his own religion, for the god revealed the ritual to men and showed them how to approach him.

Thus the Provincial organisation of the state religion was the natural medium of communication between the Emperor and the popular feeling. The feeling found expression in and through the Commune. In proportion as the sense of loyalty (according to the accepted idea of loyalty) was strong the Commune was active and powerful, because it was expressing in the state ritual a strong popular feeling. In proportion as the Emperor was in harmony with the popular feeling was the sense of loyalty intensified in the popular mind.

The present writer has tried to describe how the Commune of Asia worked in the persecution of Domitian, as that persecu-

tion is described in detail in our solitary authority, the Apocalypse, and the agreement of the picture set before us in that book with the procedure of the latest persecutions was regarded as furnishing a complete proof of the truth and trustworthiness of the picture.

The writer's view is that a pagan revival accompanied almost every persecution, partly arising spontaneously from popular feeling, but partly engineered and guided by Imperial encouragement. The Empire allied itself with the old religion, and especially the Asiatic superstitions, which had a strong hold on their devotees, against the new Faith. In the last persecution "the Christian sacraments and institutions were imitated; heathen hierarchy established of men of high rank. For the mob there was a clever winking Jove; for the devout a daily heathen service."¹ Divine names were commonly taken by the leaders and priests: Theoteknos, God's Child, a Neo-Platonist philosopher, was the guiding spirit of the last revival.

Some examples will now be quoted of these pagan revivals, not with any intention either of exhausting the subject or of drawing any inferences, but merely to direct attention to the importance of collecting and studying the facts with a view to guiding the reasoning and opinion of all scholars on this subject.

1. The following was published in 1877 by MM. Radet and Paris in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, xi., p. 63, but its real character was not recognised. "Ma, daughter of Pappas,² virgin, and by family right priestess of the goddess and the saints, restored and roofed with tiles the temple at her own expense". The criteria of the reactionary movement are all evident here. The names are those of deities: Ma was the great Cappadocian goddess, Pappas (or Papas) was a widely spread name of the supreme god as the "Father" of his worshippers. The institutions and terminology of the Church are adopted, the Virgins and the Saints (as designation of the con-

¹ Rev. H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, p. 280. I received this book through the author's courtesy, after my article was nearly finished, and extract the above as illustrating the subject clearly.

² The first editors read M. A. Pappa as a woman's name.

gregation of believers). So marked is the Christian tone that for long I regarded the inscription as Christian, originating from some heretic sect, Ma, priestess of the Mother of God ($\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, abbreviation of $\theta\epsilon(\sigma\acute{\omicron}\kappa)\omicron\upsilon$), having renovated the local church. But on that theory the paganisation of the Church is so strongly marked that the document could not be placed earlier than the fifth century, whereas it is almost certainly not later than the third century or the beginning of the fourth. Moreover, the pagan revival is now being recognised much more widely in the records of Asia Minor, and many documents, which were formerly difficult to understand, fall readily into their proper place in the reaction and revival.

The term "Parthenos" was indeed used in the Anatolian religion to designate the female slaves of the sanctuary, and it implies only unwedded. But I do not know that it was ever used by pagans in this bare and simple fashion almost like a title of hieratic rank : when it occurs in pagan documents, there is something in the context to explain the scope and sphere of the allusion, as, *e.g.*, in the inscription quoted in my *Historical Commentary on Galatians*, p. 201. Hence it seems practically certain that the term as applied to Ma here proves that in the temple which she restored there existed an order of "Virgins" similar to the Christian.

Still more clearly of Christian origin is the phrase "priestess of the Saints". In a fourth century inscription of Ancyra, the phrase "presbyter of the Saints" occurs (*C.I.G.*, 8292). Generally the term "Saints" applied to the congregation of Christians belongs to the early time, but the Ancyran inscription is a clear proof that the use lasted into the fourth century. In that century "presbyter of the Holy Church" took its place ; as appears in many inscriptions (examples quoted in the *Expositor*, Dec. 1905, p. 444).

It is highly probable that the inscription belongs to the time of Decius. This country was very thoroughly Christianised before that time. The old pagan temples had sunk into decay in Isauria—just as Pliny found that they had in Bithynia, when he

interfered to stop the Christian propaganda, and soon succeeded in having the temples restored and the worship reorganised.

2. A little epitaph found on an imperial estate in North Galatia probably belongs to this class: "Anna was set up in honour by her children Am(m)on and Apollo, and Manes and Matar, in remembrance".¹ The designation of four children by four Divine names is quite distinctive of the pagan revival. The old Phrygian form Matar for the Mother-Goddess is a peculiarly interesting revivication of an ancient name. Manes is known only in this period of revival, and seems likewise to be an old name reintroduced.

3. Another example, engraved on two sides of a small altar, bearing pagan reliefs more or less defaced, belongs to Akmonia in Phrygia.²

(a) Good Fortune. Aurelius Epitynchanos and Aurelius Epinikos, along with their mother Tertulla, consecrated their father Telesphoros,

(b) in the year 334 (A.D. 249-50), along with the religious society of which he was Hierophant.

The Fortunate and the Conquering were the sons of Telesphoros, who bore the name of the little god of Pergamum, the Consummator. The Divine nomenclature is evidently carefully selected. The word Epitynchanos is not found in Greek literature: it is a false formation from the verb, and was probably an invention of this late period. Telesphoros was the Hierophant, the displayer of the sacred objects in the mysteries celebrated by the religious society which had been formed in Akmonia.

The date, which is fortunately stated in this inscription, is peculiarly important, and gives the positive certainty that this revival of paganism was coincident with the persecution of Decius. The society was apparently a private association; and there is no direct proof that it had been encouraged by the Im-

¹ Published by Mr. J. G. C. Anderson, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1899, p. 84.

² It was published by the writer in the *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 275; the date corrected by reading Δ for Α, *ibid.*, 1902, pp. 84, 269.

perial Government or the Commune. But the same family is known from later documents, which show that it enjoyed Imperial favour later.

4. Found near Akmonia in 1883: the stone is now in Brussels, as Professor F. Cumont informs me.

(a) In the year 398 (A.D. 313-314), and waiting the commands of the immortals, and I that speak everything am Athanatos Epitynchanos (Immortal Fortunate), initiated by an honourable priestess of the people bearing an honourable name Spatale, whom the immortal gods glorified both within and beyond the bounds (of the city-state Akmonia), for she redeemed many from evil torments. The high priest Epitynchanos, glorified by the immortal gods, was consecrated by Diogas Epitynchanos and his bride Tation, and their children Onesimos and Alexander, and Asklas and Epitynchanos.

(b) Athanatos Epitynchanos, son of Pius, glorified by Hekate first, secondly by Manes Daos Heliodromos Zeus, thirdly Phoebus Leader and Prophetic, truly I received the gift prophetic of truth in my own city . . . to the first high-priest Athanatos Pius, father of honourable sons, and to my mother Tatis, who bore honourable children, an honourable name. . . .

(c) The Athanatoi first high-priests, brothers, Diogas and Epitynchanos, saviours of their city, lawgivers.¹

This inscription belongs to the last stage of the struggle against Christianity, under Maximin, and entirely confirms the account given by Eusebius and Lactantius of that emperor's action. The imitation of Christian language (John iv. 6) and Christian zeal for conversion, the profusion of Divine names and epithets, the revival of old cults, the respect for prophecy, and the confidence in Divine favour and guidance—all are characteristic of the pagan revival. The use of the term high-priest implies Imperial approval: it cannot be doubted that in the pagan hierarchy the consent of the Pontifex Maximus and the Commune was a necessary condition in the bestowal of this title. More-

¹ *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., pp. 566-568.

over, it is recorded that Maximin sought to create a hierarchy opposed to the Christian.¹

5. The elder Epitynchanos is also mentioned in an inscription, which belongs either to the Phrygian city Meiros ("beyond the bounds of Akmonia") or to the imperial estate Tembrion, as an astrologer, astronomer and diviner, honoured with the citizenship of many cities, and leaving sons who were equally skilled in his arts. It was pointed out when this inscription was published that Epitynchanos Pius belonged to Akmonia, and flourished about 260 to 310 A.D. He may therefore be probably regarded either as the son of, or even as identical with Epitynchanos son of Telephoros, and we may suppose that he assumed the epithet Pius some time after 250, and disused the commonplace name Aurelius (which was almost universally used at that period, and was much less fashionable about 313).

6. The most important evidence bearing on this question comes from the fragmentary Acta of the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends on the Imperial estates near Pisidian Antioch. The constitution of this religious association is uncertain; but it seems in practice to have consisted of the population resident on the Imperial estates as organised for religious purposes (*plebs collegii*) together with various strangers mainly from other Imperial estates, but also to some extent persons from the Hellenic cities who were falling away from Hellenism and relapsing into the older Orientalism of the country. Numerous questions of history and sociology are roused by this unique series of documents; these questions are indicated, though space and time forbade full treatment, in the first complete publication of the documents, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, written for the Aberdeen Quatercentenary and now published by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, 1906, pp. 305-377; but at present we only touch on the one subject of immediate interest.

The most important documents found in this locality are (1) lists of subscribers with the amount of their subscriptions; when

¹ *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., p. 790: A. Souter, in the *Classical Review*, 1897.
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the inscriptions are complete at the top there is a preamble describing the character of the subscribers and the purpose of the donations ; (2) dedications to the Goddess Artemis or to the God Emperor (once the Gods Emperors) ; (3) a village act, dated by a priest (of Artemis), who seems to be an Imperial procurator, and expressed in the name of the village people and a slave (of the Emperor) residing on the estate as *actor* or manager and as member of the village Assembly (Gerousia) ; (4) the epitaph of a Roman, apparently freedman and procurator of the Emperor Claudius, holding the priesthood of Artemis.

The subscribers and dedicators are repeatedly called the Tekmoreian Guest-Friends.

That the Guest-Friends were a sort of secret society, so called because they recognised one another by a sign or Tekmor, was suggested in my *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 411, and *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i., p. 97 ; ii., pp. 359, 630 ; but the alternative explanation that the epithet was local and derived from a place called Tekmoreion, was preferred by the only American and German scholars who have expressed an opinion. The connection with the old epic Greek word Tekmor was confirmed in 1905 by the discovery of a list in which the verb *τεκμορεύειν* is used. The name given to the members of the society was derived from the performance of some action designated by this verb. In one case it is mentioned that the act is performed for the second time.

Inasmuch as new words had to be invented for the occasion the act must have been a novel one. But the society was religious, uniting the old Anatolian ritual with the worship of the Emperor ; acts of the old ritual had old names ; therefore, the act which required a newly-invented name must have been part of the new element in the combined religion, *i.e.*, it was connected with some sign of loyalty and devotion to the Imperial religion. What this sign was cannot as yet be determined from the extant evidence ; but every one must involuntarily think of "them that had received the mark of the Beast and them that worshipped his image". The large subscriptions of money recorded in the

Tekmoreian lists were applied to the making of statues of the Lord Emperor and the Good Fortune of the Emperors and the Great Goddess Artemis, together with various implements of the ritual : the purpose was always religious. The society was the expression of an alliance between the Imperial power and the old Anatolian religious authority ; that old authority seems to have been exercised by the Imperial procurator, who represented the Emperor and managed his interests. The only two priests of the Great Goddess mentioned in the documents preserved were apparently procurators and Imperial freedmen (though owing to the circumstances the procuratorship was not mentioned). But the character of the Imperial system was to maintain as far as possible the old system of government on the estates, and this could be most conveniently done by making the procurator hold the old priesthood with all the power that accompanied the office.

It is true that the anti-Christian purpose is never mentioned in the inscriptions. Even if we possessed much fuller and more elaborate copies of the Tekmoreian records, that purpose would probably not be alluded to. "It was apparently a fashion and an affectation among a certain class of Greek men of letters about A.D. 160-240 to ignore the existence of the Christians, and to pretend to confuse them with the Jews. Those high-souled philosophic Greeks would not even know the name, for it was a solecism to use such a vulgar and barbarous word."¹ So I wrote in 1892 ; and now it is apparent that the affectation was more widely spread over society generally, and not confined to Greek men of letters. The educated Greeks were not unwilling to ally themselves with the uneducated Orientals against their common enemy ; they failed to see that in doing so they were working out the ruin of Greek education. In allying themselves with the uneducated they must gradually sink to the lower level ; and one of the many remarkable and interesting features of the Tekmoreian lists is that they show the way in which individuals were leaving the Greek city life and going back to the lower educational level

¹ *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 264.

of Oriental peasant life.¹ Christianity was the religion of an educated people, and the last and worst evil of the long struggle was that in Diocletian's persecution the more cultured section of the Church was to a large extent killed out, so that on both sides education deteriorated and the quality of society in general was depreciated.

Nor is any allusion ever made in the Tekmoreian documents to Imperial suggestion or approval. On the contrary, it is apparent that an intentional silence is preserved with regard to the action of Imperial officials. In the Tekmoreian lists, only village officers as a rule are mentioned. Even the priest does not appear in them, because the priesthood was held by the procurator. As is pointed out in the publication of the documents,² there is no other explanation possible of this peculiar fact except that "the intention was to show the spontaneous nature of the movement". The procurator and actores took no direct part; and the *acta* emanate directly from the populace. Yet this semblance conceals what must have been the real facts. It must be remembered that the population on the Imperial estates were in a different position from the rest of the population of the provinces. The Emperor was their lord; they were his immediate subjects. He was the heir to the personal authority over them, which had once belonged to the deity, whose servants they were; and his procurator was the priest of the deity, and exercised that authority on the Emperor's behalf. Although there is no proof that the constitution of this society was approved by the Emperor, I do not see how this can be doubted. The society aimed only at pleasing the Emperor; it acted in loyal and eager devotion; it lived for the Emperor and the great goddess Artemis. That it had reason to believe that its action was approved by the Emperor is beyond doubt; it is a fundamental and inevitable part of the situation.

Here then we have clear proof of a considerable organisation, emanating from the Antiochian Imperial estates, and embracing members from many Asian Imperial estates, work-

¹ *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 357.

² *Ibid.*, p. 313.

ing for the revival of the old Anatolian religion in association with the Imperial worship. What is the date of formation? It is pointed out in the already quoted publication, pp. 350 ff., that the Tekmoreian lists fall into two groups separated by an interval of about a generation (somewhere about 20 to 40 years). The later group mentions a single Emperor and cannot therefore have been composed under Diocletian (except in the first year of his reign). While certainty is not attainable until further documents are found, the probability is that the earlier group belongs to the time about A.D. 215-25 and the later about 245-55. Thus, perhaps as early as the first quarter of the third century, certainly not later than about the middle, we have proof of the existence of this great religious association springing from a pagan revival, lasting for at least about thirty years, and countenanced by the Imperial authority. "We can hardly be mistaken in connecting this institution with the greatest political fact of the third century, the war between the State and the Christian faith. The critical and determining question about each successive Emperor at that time turns on his attitude to the Christians; and the test of the real import of every event then is its bearing on the relation between the Christians and the State. The history of the Empire requires to be rewritten from a more statesmanlike point of view, *viz.*, how the great struggle of religions and the social systems which they implied was fought out on the field of the Roman world" (*ibid.* p. 347).

This dating would well explain the origin of the movement. The alliance of philosophy with a revived paganism (studiously ignoring Christianity) is the guiding and originating thought in Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, an imaginative work which was suggested in court circles and composed in Rome about A.D. 210-220. Philosophy is in this work the criterion of the good and virtuous man; and the good man is he who worships the gods within the earth, the wicked man he who despises them.¹ The Tekmoreian society shows the same idea, spreading in humbler circles from a court origin.

¹ See e.g. ii., 39.

It is worthy of note that so many of the inscriptions bearing on this subject are connected with Imperial estates. Besides the whole group of Tekmoreian lists, Nos. (2) and (5) above come from Imperial estates, and Nos. (3) and (4) refer to the same person as No. (5) or his family, and were found on the fringe of the same estate. It is not impossible that even (3) and (4) may originally have been actually erected on that estate ; and in fact (4) was found within the limits (as I have placed them) of the estate ; but the term high-priest seems more favourable to the origin from a city, such as Akmonia, and (3) was found in the territory of that city, which was conterminous with the estate. A wider survey of the documents of this class would confirm the principle that the Imperial estates were the centres of the anti-Christian movement and of the pagan revivals.

W. M. RAMSAY.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON ISRAEL'S DEVELOPMENT.

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ARTICLE I.

Israel and the Neighbouring Nations.

These papers are for the purpose of indicating what Israel derived from intercourse with other peoples, and the question we have to determine is, how far Judaism as the precursor of Christianity, owes its development to external influences. This is an attempt which perhaps would not have been made formerly, because it was not so generally admitted as it now is that the history of all religion is one of growth and development, and that even those faiths which, as we believe, come by revelation from on High, are not exempt from this law. Because the Israelites received, as we have been taught, a special revelation of God's will, their religion need not necessarily have come into being in a manner so totally distinct from all other creeds of mankind, as to be regarded as under entirely different laws. Nor do we now cling to the view once cherished by our ancestors, and not altogether abandoned to-day, that a true revelation consists of a small nucleus, and that all accretions and additions are necessarily injurious to its purity. On the contrary we believe that, as a national life develops, its religious consciousness increases, and that the function of experience is of considerable importance. Whilst, therefore, we are ready to acknowledge that the Israelites were given a special revelation, it must be admitted that the nation shared with other peoples in certain religious beliefs and observances ; and also that there were nations possessed of truths of which Israel was at first ignorant, which it subsequently, to

its great profit, assimilated. A single glance at a map of nearer Asia, a most rudimentary knowledge of general history, is sufficient to show that Israel was not placed in a land so as to be isolated from mankind. The strip of cultivatable soil which separates the desert from the Mediterranean was the prize for which tribes, nations and empires strove for centuries. It is a land of battles and sieges, of military exploits and disasters; from the days of Sargon of Accad, early in the fourth millenium B.C., to the days of Mehemet Ali, in the middle of the nineteenth century, it has been coveted by the invader. Its inhabitants in Biblical times represented successive inroads of victorious settlers. The country took its name from a conquering people: *Συρία Παλεστίνη*, "Syria of the Philistines" the Greeks called it; and, so far as we can judge, the Philistines of Caphtor were later occupants even than the sons of Israel. The excavations at Gezer reveal the Roman city of the age of the Maccabees, the Israelite town of Solomon, the more splendid buildings of the age of the Pharaohs, and so on till the rude homes of the stone age. The variety of the inhabitants of Southern Palestine centuries before the Israelites conquered it is attested by the Tel el Amarna correspondence. The Bible is full of allusions to early migrations and changes of ownership, place names and the like, and we meet from time to time with examples of peoples of the most ancient stock continuing to occupy the territory of their ancestors.

Now the inhabitants of a country so thickly populated as Palestine evidently was in Biblical times by peoples living in such close proximity must have had its influence upon a nation like the Israelite.

There can be no greater mistake than to generalise on the subject of the Jewish character. As long as the Jew has been known to us Westerns he has exhibited with singular uniformity the opposite qualities of rigid conservatism and remarkable adaptability. The part which the Jews played at the court of the Ptolemies or Cæsars they have played ever since. The Tobiades were Hellenized; the Herods became Romans, just

as Disraeli became an Englishman, or Gambetta a Frenchman. The young priestly aristocrats of Jerusalem in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes adopted the dress and enjoyed the manly sports of the Greeks as readily as their descendants have done those of the English. And, reasoning by analogy, we may infer that the ancient Israelites showed no less adaptability in embracing the customs, ideas and even religion of nations with whom they had far more natural sympathy than they could have with the Macedonian, Roman or English races, whose antecedents were so different to their own. This is exactly what the Bible relates. The readiness of the Israelite to abandon his ancestral usages was the great difficulty which confronted the prophets and teachers of the nation. There were in fact now, as always, two sorts of Israelite, the one prepared to throw aside his nationality on the smallest provocation, and the other rigidly resolved to keep apart from the nations. But even the latter could not fail to be influenced by the foreign ideas with which he came in contact.

The religion of the Hebrews, according to the Bible, was delivered by Moses, who had been brought up as an Egyptian prince ; and had spent part of his life as a fugitive among the free denizens of the Arabian desert. He led the people from their settlement in Goshen to a sacred place known as Sinai, Horeb, and the Mount of God. There, and at Kadesh, a sanctuary, as its name implies, Israel received its law. Before doing so the nation had passed under the influence of the Egyptians and Midianites. Then followed the conquest of Canaan, after which we find the victors making alliances with the conquered, but not subject, peoples. Thus in the days of Joshua the Gibeonites are the friends of Israel ; in the time of Abimelech the Shechemites and Ephraimites united in reverencing El or Baal berith, the God of the covenant ; in that of Samson the Philistines and Danites lived in a sort of amity despite their mutual hostility. Throughout this period the Israelites were evidently adopting many of the rites, ceremonies and sacred places of the older Canaanite inhabitants. This is the meaning of those notices so frequent in the

Book of Judges about serving Baalim and Astaroth, the local gods and goddesses. The Israelites were in fact only too disposed to learn from the people whom they had dispossessed of part of the country. Much of this old Canaanite worship was pronounced illegal at a later time, and is the subject of constant reprobation ; but it is probable that one element became one of the most important features of the Hebrew religion.

If we examine the conditions of prophetism we shall find many characteristics of the Biblical prophets are common to others who claimed this gift. Prophecy and madness are in some cases indistinguishable ; the spirit of prophecy comes on men suddenly and almost against their will ; it endued them with preternatural strength and agility ; it could be brought on artificially by hearing music, and perhaps, as in the case of the prophets of Baal and the modern dervishes, the ecstasy was distinguished by insensibility to pain. Prophets were in no sense peculiar to Israel ; the gods of the heathen had their prophets, and in many instances these were scarcely to be distinguished by their behaviour from some of the so-called prophets of Jehovah. Indeed the great teachers of Israel are profuse in their denunciation of the practices of the majority of the prophets, whom they declare to be as unscrupulous and venal as the priesthood itself. It is no disparagement, therefore, of the canonical prophets, as deliverers of a divine message, that organised prophetism has been assigned to a Canaanite origin. It cannot be proved that the movement in the days of Samuel did not come direct from God, or that it was not distinctly Israelite in origin ; but, whatever its source, the true power of the prophetic spirit is revealed in its subsequent development in the great ideas of man's duty to God, and God's relation to His people, which the prophets bequeathed to the human race.

The Canaanite influence played a considerable part in the change from a nomadic to a settled life ; and it may be remarked that till a comparatively late date there was a contest between the old pastoral (*i.e.*, Midianite) influence and the agricultural life which the Israelites had adopted. It is only by a curious coin-

cidence that we hear of people who lived the life of their nomadic ancestors among the settled Israelites in Palestine, and kept alive the memory of the fact that the old wandering life of the patriarchal age was the genuine existence of a son of Israel.

The strange appearance of the Rechabites in the Book of Jeremiah in B.C. 590, "Jehonadab the son of Rechab," say they to the prophet, "our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever: neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents; that ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers" (Jer. xxxv. 5, 6).

It will be remembered that when Jehu extirpated the Baal worship his great supporter was a Jehonadab the son of Rechab, possibly the founder of the sect; but, for reasons which I venture now to suggest, it may be that he was the head of the Rechabites at that time, the actual "father" of the community belonging to a far more remote age. The pedigree in the Chronicles says, "These are the Kenites that came of Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab," and states further that they were scribes (1 Ch. ii. 55). In the days of Jeremiah they were possibly reckoned as priests: (*cf.* xxxv. 16) "to stand before Me".

Now these Kenites, aliens in race, yet evidently highly honoured among the Israelites, found in Northern Palestine among the Canaanites (Judg. iv.), and in the south among the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv.), seem to have been regarded with universal respect. Dr. Sayce, remarking on the name which, like Cain, Kenan, Tubal-cain, etc., is derived from כַּיִן, a lance, thinks that they were a tribe of smiths, and I may observe that this calling is among people in a certain state of civilisation regarded not merely as a useful and honourable craft, but as something awful and mysterious. Cain, in Hebrew legend, is the murderer whose person is nevertheless *sacrosanct*, protected by a seven-fold vengeance. The Israelites themselves in early days do not seem to have practised the art of working in metals, and, perhaps, they regarded those who wrought with so mysterious an element as fire, and furnished them with arms, as our Norse ancestors did

Wayland Smith, the craftsman and magician, or as their Christian descendants thought of St. Dunstan. Now, at the risk of seeming over fanciful, may I hazard a theory that as *fire* was one of the special attributes of Jehovah, the tribe who wrought with fire—the Kenites—may have been regarded, though alien from Israel, as yet peculiarly servants of the God who spake to His people amid the lightning? Further, when Balaam looked from the mountains of Moab (Numb. xxiv. 21, 22), he saw the rock fortresses of the Kenites, and playing ingeniously on the name, cried, “Strong is Kain and thou makest thy nest (*Kenekha*) on a rock,” possibly alluding to those southern mountains in Teman or Edom, which were supposed to be the peculiar home of Jehovah (Judg. v. 4). The alliance between Israel and the Kenites dated, according to Judg. i. 16, from the days of the Exodus, Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, being described as a Kenite. In these circumstances we may infer that the Kenites belonged to the Midianite tribe which helped Israel in the desert. As Saul said to those who dwelt among the Amalekites, “Ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came up out of Egypt” (1 Sam. xv. 6).

And thus we are brought back to that strange scene at the foot of Sinai, when Jethro met Moses :—

“And Jethro, Moses’ father-in-law, came with his sons and his wife unto Moses into the wilderness, where he encamped at the Mount of God : And he said unto Moses, I, thy father-in-law Jethro, am come unto thee, and thy wife and thy two sons with her. And Moses went out to meet his father-in-law and did obeisance, and kissed him : And Jethro, Moses’ father-in-law, took a burnt offering and sacrifice for God : And Aaron came, and all the elders of Israel, to eat bread with Moses’ father-in-law before God” (Ex. xviii. 5, 6, 7-12).

Here we see Moses and Aaron giving place to Jethro, who may almost be said to act as priest of the holy mountain. It is this which has led Dr. Budde to use the following language in regard to the incident :—

“What the prophets and historians of Israel later call Israel’s

covenant with Jehovah and Jehovah's with Israel is here described in sober historical narrative, in a form which offers nothing at all wonderful when read in the light of ethnology and the history of religions. . . . This covenant is nothing else than an alliance of Israel with the nomad tribe of the Kenites in Sinai, which had as its self-evident condition the adoption of their religion, Jahveh worship. However, this alliance is rightly called in the Old Testament tradition a covenant of alliance, not with Israel, but with Jahveh—for Israel had made the acquaintance of this God earlier than the desert tribe which served Him. It had been won to Him by the preaching of Moses in Egypt, and had vowed to dedicate itself to His service before it met the Kenites. We must recognise therefore as a fact, historically well attested and supported by many witnesses, that Israel, simultaneously with its exodus from Egypt, turned to a new religion the worship of Jehovah, the mountain God of the Kenites at Sinai" (*Religion of Israel to the Exile*, p. 25).

Whether Jehovah was a Kenite God we can hardly discuss at present, but I think we may draw something like the following inference :—

(a) There existed in Israel a people, highly regarded by the nation, who preserved all the habits of a nomadic race.

(b) It is possible that, when these were endangered by increasing civilisation, one of them named Jehonadab strictly enjoined his descendants to live as their fathers had done.

(c) This people had a sort of *sacrosanct* character, and were regarded as priests or at least as scribes.

(d) They were regarded as the descendants of the Midianites, who, under Hobab, joined in alliance with Israel.

(e) Their first chief exercised an authority to which even Moses and Aaron submitted, and he was styled the "priest of Midian".

(f) Their original home was around Sinai-Horeb, where Jehovah was revealed in fire.

(g) They were enthusiastic worshippers of Jehovah, and especially zealous for His honour.

(h) Their name, Kenite, and their connection with Jehovah, "the God of fire," is not inconsistent with their having been smiths—a craft which was connected with supernatural power.

But my main thesis is that these Kenites or Rechabites preserved what was believed to be the original life of the worshippers of Jehovah—men without fixed abode, wanderers on the face of the earth, refusing to own or cultivate land, and abstaining from the fruit of the grape, the special possession of the cultivator of the soil of Palestine.

I have, however, no wish to leave the impression that the Kenites or Rechabites, because the most conservative, were the truest worshippers of Jehovah. The one great characteristic of the religion of Israel, as of all true religion, was that it was an essentially progressive one. In fact, the simpler and more natural criticism shows its origin to have been, the more force is there in the argument for its divine character. That Israel was given a perfect religion, unmixed with any alloy of superstition, totally different from that of any other nation; that when the Pentateuchal law had been delivered there was no more to learn, no moral discoveries to make, nothing but to live exactly as the Lawgiver had prescribed, would not make the Bible story a specially wonderful one. But that a people should have begun in a condition hardly distinguishable from the religious position of its neighbours, and ended by giving the true ideal of faith to the world, makes their story the most wonderful in the tale of humanity. I remember Wellhausen's opening words, "Israel was a nation like other nations," being attacked as though they denied the miraculous element in its history. But, to my mind, they are the greatest testimony to the belief that the education of Israel by God was totally exceptional. The religious consciousness of the nation was a growing one, and its progress can be traced from stage to stage in the most natural manner; but it is difficult, if indeed it is possible, to find a parallel to it. One of these stages was reached when Israel abandoned the nomadic ideal to their Kenite allies and adopted the habits of the conquered Canaanites. Criticism has, I think, removed one great stumbling block in

regard to the massacres of the inhabitants of Canaan. Some of us can no doubt remember the desperate shifts we were put to to account for the Divine commands to exterminate the Canaanites. Now it seems almost certain that, despite the inevitable horrors attending the irruption of a conquering race from the desert into a civilised country, the utter destruction of its inhabitants was neither contemplated nor commanded. From several indications given us in Scripture it appears that the Israelite conquerors settled among the earlier inhabitants of Canaan, treating them sometimes as a servile race protected by treaty (Josh. ix. 3 ff. ; 2 Sam. xxi. 1), as in the case of the Gibeonites, sometimes as allies (Judg. ix. 1 ff.), and ultimately as a subject people (1 Kings ix. 21).

Now there seems to be an invariable law that when two peoples live together, the one as a dominant, the other a subject race, the latter always exercises a powerful influence over the former. The religion of the subject race hardly ever fails to have a sort of fascination for the conquerors, since every child is sure to be brought up among slaves and dependents, who, consciously or unconsciously, instil their ideas into the infant mind. But in the case of the Israelites and Canaanites there was an additional reason for the religion of the conquered having a paramount influence. The change from a pastoral to an agricultural life necessitated an alteration of worship. Every field and every spring and tree had its *Baal*, which required to be propitiated before it could be used. Even in the eighth century B.C., when the supremacy of Jehovah was universally acknowledged, these deities had to be cultivated, and Israel is represented as calling the local gods or Baalim her lovers, saying, "I will go after my lovers that give me my bread and my water, my wool and my flax, my oil and my drink" (Hosea ii. 5).

The step taken by Israel in abandoning its old pastoral life was consequently fraught with great spiritual danger, and resulted in the adoption of a sort of polytheism grafted on to the Jehovah worship of their ancestors. Nevertheless it was absolutely necessary that the nation should change its customs even at the risk of

corrupting its religious practices. The Israelite, not the Kenite, was the true conservator of Divine truth. It was necessary for the future religion of the world that it should be able to adapt itself to every age and every circumstance, that it should advance with advancing civilisation. The religion of the Old Testament began in the desert, was transplanted to the settled country, and finally became the religion of the trader and traveller, as such to be carried in a different form throughout the Roman Empire and far beyond its frontiers. The Canaanite had his share in training God's people for the work it had to do.

But the foolish cant that the form of religion does not matter, that one faith is as good as another is effectually dispelled by the light of recent research. We are brought face to face with the fact that beneath the smiling native worship of the inhabitants of early Palestine lay the dark secrets of human sacrifice and brutal immorality. The Hebrew prophets when they contended against Canaanitish practices were not denouncing a form of faith as admirable as that of Israel. They were engaged in a deadly combat between two opposing principles—the Canaanitish, which taught that religion and morality were distinct from one another, and even at times in antagonism, and the true Israelite conception that the true service of God was not ceremonial, but the carrying out of the Divine law of a perfect and spotless life.

One of the most interesting and, so far as I am aware, comparatively unnoticed facts, in connection with the foreign influences brought to bear upon Israel is due to the connection between it and Tyre. The great trading cities of Phœnicia, Tyre and Sidon had a powerful attraction for the Hebrew race. It was the natural alliance between the trader and the farmer. Tyre and Sidon brought Israel into contact with the outer world, and the Israelites grew the corn which victualled the Phœnician navies. In the days of Solomon (1 Kings iv.) and in the time of Herod the commercial Sidonians depended upon the agricultural Israelites "because their country was nourished by the king's country" (Acts xii.). It is very noteworthy that when the pro-

phets denounce the sins of Tyre they do not employ the language of implacable hostility adopted in the case of other nations, and generally foretell that Tyre will repent, and once more occupy a place in the Divine favour. Isaiah, for example, tells us that in the end "Her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the Lord, it shall not be treasured or laid up; for her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before the Lord to eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing" (Isa. xxiii. 18). Ezekiel, when he foretells its destruction, dwells on the wealth, the beauty, the trade of Tyre and her prince. We cannot forget his words: "Son of man, take up a lamentation upon the king of Tyrus, and say with him, Thus saith the Lord God, Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou hast been in Eden in the garden of God: every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, the carbuncle, and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created. Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee so: thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of stones of fire" (Ezek. xxviii. 12-14).

The intercourse with Tyre was commenced by David, whose important services in bringing Israel under the influences of the outer world, and advancing the nation in the course of civilisation, has been strangely overlooked. I believe myself that it was David who effected all that Samuel feared would result from the appointment of the king of Israel; and that all which the ancient prophet so much dreaded was part of the Divine discipline of the chosen people.

The extraordinary career of David, the man whom circumstances had thrust beyond the borders of Israel, and who was brought into contact with so many men of other nations, marked him out from all his predecessors. It always appears to me that David had far wider ideas than any Israelite before the age of the prophets. He certainly seems to have looked afar in the selection of his allies, and to have maintained relations with all

the inhabitants of the Mediterranean sea-board. His special friend was Hiram of Tyre, and he formed that curious alliance with Hamath in Cœle Syria, which was maintained for centuries by the kings of Judah. Considering his age, David must have been a monarch of exceptional enlightenment, and his policy was to make Israel a nation sharing in the commerce of the world, instead of merely a loose association of warring tribes. The great kings of Israel merely carried on the Davidic tradition, and their fame and prosperity rested on the basis which he established of keeping in touch with the Phœnician peoples.

Under David Israel made an advance from a state of semi-barbarism to one of advanced civilisation, and the clue to this change is the Tyrian alliance.

We cannot fail to be struck by the importance of the building of Solomon's temple. Its erection was a turning point in the history of the nation. In David's time the prophets opposed the idea ; in Solomon's they, perhaps, assented with reluctance. The Israelites were quite incapable of building a great sanctuary ; the work had to be done by foreigners. The worker in brass, whom Solomon summoned from Tyre, was a Tyrian on his father's side and of the remote tribe of Naphtali on his mother's. The ornamentation of the sanctuary was not in any sense Israelite—the lions, oxen and cherubs were possibly of Babylonian origin, or derived from the great Phœnician temples. The famous temple, which ultimately became the centre of Judaism, had undoubtedly a heathen origin ; the hands which erected it and the minds which planned it were those of Gentiles. But not only did the Phœnician influence manifest itself under David and Solomon ; it gave rise to the memorable struggle between Elijah and Ahab. The Baal with whom Elijah contended was not one of the local Baalim of the old Canaanite cultivators. He was rather a god who claimed sovereignty in the name of civilisation. He was the God of the Sidonians, the great mercantile people which had fringed the Mediterranean with their forts and depôts. To Israel the choice between Jehovah and Baal must have been one between particularism and universalism, between a god who at

most favoured a weak people, and the God of the virtual masters of the world. This explains the intense bitterness with which the strife between Jezebel and Elijah was waged. Israel had to decide between the prosperity of Phœnicia and the service of Jehovah. That it chose the latter is one of the greatest facts in human history, and it is worth remembering that in this contest Israel's God was represented by one of those uncompromising men who refused to acknowledge any of the claims of civilised life, Elijah the Gileadite, the man whose home was the desert and his companions the birds of the air. The inducements to worship the Baal of Tyre came from the western coasts ; the call back to Jehovah from the eastern desert.

We know so little of the nations akin to Israel, the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, that it is not easy to determine their influence. Edom was, however, regarded as the special habitation of *wisdom*. Teman was the abode of the wise. Jeremiah asks in surprise : "Has wisdom perished in Teman?" and from the same place came Eliphaz, the most remarkable of all the comforters of Job. The honour in which wisdom was held in Israel is attested in the book of Proverbs, and would be strange if the impulse in this direction came from an external source ; but it is significant that the ancient Israelites, so far from regarding their own wisdom as final, had a great admiration for that of other nations. Solomon we are told was wiser even "than the sons of the East" (1 Kings xv.). This is one of the many proofs of the marvellous power of assimilation possessed by this extraordinary people.

So far as we can judge the ancient kinsfolk of Israel were monolatrous, that is, they worshipped but one God, though this does not imply that they or for that matter the Israelites were monotheists, who acknowledged no God but he whom they served. The Moabite stone, which is the only original source of information we have about the worship of Chemosh, supplies an explanation of the rigid exclusion of the Moabites from the sanctuary. No one can read the famous inscription without being struck by the similarity of its language to that of the book of

Kings. Is it too bold to hazard a conjecture that the similarity between the worship of Chemosh and that of Jehovah was apt to produce a certain confusion between the two: and that the legislators of Israel feared it as a dangerous rival, which must on no conditions be confused with the worship of the true God?

I have omitted two subjects which may appear to some to be of considerable importance, the theory that the religion of Israel is due to that mysterious sojourn among the Arabian Muzri and the Southern Jerahmeelites, and the influence of Egypt upon the early faith of Israel as well as that of Semitic nations on Egypt. Such subjects would in themselves require separate treatment at abler hands than mine. I have only had time to develop the main thesis of my paper—that Israel was a singularly adaptive nation, and that its religion resulted from progressive development. Beginning in a form hardly distinguishable from that of other nations, it constantly adapted new elements, and steadily grew. This is to me one of the strongest arguments for its divine character. Christianity, and in a lesser sense Judaism, are progressive religions; their roots are hidden in the past, their shoots rise higher and higher towards heaven. And this is because the common ancestral faith was from the first a development from the lower to the higher.

I conclude with a statement which may possibly cause some surprise, but which is I think absolutely demonstrable. Israel's faith only predominated in Palestine for a very short period of time. Till the time of David the divided tribes held their mountains on a most precarious tenure. It is not till A.D. 1000 that the people of Israel were predominant in Palestine. In three centuries, by the invasion of Sennacherib all was lost save Jerusalem and its adjacent villages. Never again, save for a short period before the Christian era, were the Hebrews the leading power in the land. At the present time what strikes the traveller in the Holy Land is the absence of Israelite monuments. The faith of Israel was that of a small minority in one of the smallest countries in the world. The audiences of the great prophets, the men who accepted the law of Moses, were very few in

number. The extreme insignificance of Israel, save for some three centuries or less, is an evident fact. But this marvellous people, planted insecurely amid the hills of Palestine, were assimilating all that was best in their surroundings and were forming the basis of the sublimest creed which has been vouchsafed to humanity.

(To be Continued.)

ASSYRIOLOGY AND OLD TESTAMENT.

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The Value of Assyriology.—Assyriology is yearly becoming more widely recognised as an important help to the literary and historical criticism of the Old Testament. The new dictionaries of the Bible, the new commentaries, teem with facts deduced from the monuments. The newest Hebrew lexicons make continual reference to the Assyrian language. The historical inscriptions of the Assyrian kings long ago rescued great monarchs like Sargon and great events such as the capture of No Amon, in Egypt, from being explained away as mistakes in tradition or errors of the pen. We have learnt that Halah is really on the Chabour (as stated in 2 Kings xvii. 6), and not a slip for Balich, the river of Haran; nor for Kalah, the early capital of Assyria. We have found the Chebar of Ezekiel's vision in the Grand Canal of Nippur. In numerous other instances proof has been found that the Bible was correct where its critics once supposed it in error. On the other hand, there are many things in the Bible which have as yet received no confirmation from the very sources which we should have expected would confirm them. Thus we know from independent sources the names of several sons of Sennacherib, but none that can satisfactorily be identified with Adrammelech and Sharezer, nor any hint that there was but one parricide. The difficulties of reconciling the Biblical accounts of Sennacherib's invasions of Judaea with his own story of his campaign in B.C. 701 are great; but the opinion is growing that he made a second expedition, of which he has left no account. This theory, not yet proved, would solve the difficulty, making due allowance for the natural differences between the Jewish and Assyrian points of view. For these and many other gains Biblical science has cause to be grateful.

What Assyriology Can and Cannot Do.—There is, however, great misconception as to what Assyriology can or ought to do for the Bible. It cannot prove, nor disprove, the revelation of God in the history of Israel, nor the inspiration of the sacred writers. It may disprove some theories of what revelation and inspiration do imply, but the formal proof of such theories is difficult in any case, and lies entirely outside the province of Assyriology. The opinions of Assyriologists, however eminent, must not be regarded as the contribution of Assyriology. Each subject has its own documents which are open to all to draw conclusions from, but are also the ultimate test of the validity of those conclusions. It is as unfair to make Assyriology responsible for such conclusions as to make the Bible responsible for all the nonsense deduced from it. To take a much-discussed example, the alleged discovery of names in Babylonian documents which would answer to Amraphel, Arioch, Chedorlaomer and Tidal, the allied kings, from whose clutches Abraham rescued his nephew Lot, is of great interest; and, with many other touches of verisimilitude in the narrative, may serve to restore confidence in the historical value of Genesis xiv. This is very far from authenticating the narrative, for such documents make no mention of Abraham or Lot, nor that the kings were allied in any expedition. The attempt to find a cuneiform document behind the narrative in Genesis introduces difficulties of a fresh nature but is not intrinsically improbable. Assyriology does not claim to be hailed as a deliverer from the Higher Criticism, and those who parade it as such usually substitute a critical theory of their own, which can scarcely be regarded as enhancing the credit of the Old Testament.

Canaan Permeated with Babylonian Influence.—Ever since the discovery of the Tell el Amarna tablets in Egypt containing the correspondence in Babylonian language and writing not only of kings of Assyria and Babylonia with the Pharaohs but also of Palestinian rulers with the king of Egypt, the impression has been growing that Canaan was permeated with Babylonian influence. That the rulers of Canaanite cities corresponded with

one another in Babylonian, of course with native Hebrew dialectical forms of expression, is warrant for supposing that they knew and read other Babylonian writings. They corresponded with Babylonia as well. The Egyptians had to write to them in Babylonian, not Egyptian, and in order to learn it used Babylonian legends. The Canaanites probably did the same. The recent discovery of cuneiform documents in Palestine itself goes far to confirm the impression. At Lachish, Gezer, Gath, Megiddo, Taanach, all places mentioned in the Old Testament, have been found strong evidences of Babylonian influence, while some have yielded examples of correspondence in Babylonian, as well as its use for private records. We have only palæographical evidence to decide their date, but the general similarity to the Tell el Amarna tablets suggests that they antedate the Exodus. The occurrence of names probably containing the sacred name Jahweh raises the questions whether Israel had already partly occupied Canaan, or whether Jahweh was a Canaanite god. The evidence at present is too slight to give a final answer. Some scholars have seen in the Old Testament itself evidence that the Hebrews used cuneiform writing long after their settlement in Canaan, and it is possible that some knowledge of it never quite died out. Such variant forms of the same name as Iscah and Milcah may be explained by alternative readings of the same Babylonian sign, which can be read either *Isk* or *Mil*.

Similarities Between Babylonian and Biblical Literature.—

The study of Babylonian literature has revealed many surprising likenesses to Old Testament writings, and varying use has been made of them, on the one side as confirmations of Holy Writ, on the other to impugn its value by the assertion of indebtedness to heathen sources. Various theories, familiar to all who busy themselves with comparison of religions or civilisations, have been advanced to account for the similarities. It is well known that widely separated peoples, on reaching much the same stage of civilisation, hit upon very similar solutions of the problems that face them. Parallels to Babylonian and Hebrew story, such as the Creation or the Deluge, may be produced from the African Masai, from

Mexico or Peru, India or Japan. Babylonian influence is then out of the question, because we cannot prove intercommunication. But how could the Hebrews after entrance into Canaan avoid knowing Babylonian stories? Again the common features have been ascribed to a common Semitic tradition; but this is to explain the known by the unknown. We know too little about Arabia at dates early enough to compare with Babylonian literature for us to assert that Arabia had a deluge story before either. The common Semitic tradition has to be accounted for; it is only known to exist from these two branches. The Jews in later times, when their intolerance of Babylonia was at its height, took over the Babylonian formulæ for legal documents; of course omitting the oaths by heathen gods and the forfeits to heathen temples. It is obvious to suggest that earlier they re-edited in orthodox form the Babylonian Creation and Deluge stories. We may admit that to have a deluge story is only human, to have just such a story is a tradition common to Babylonia and Israel, but these are inadequate accounts; there are features, revealed only by close examination, which go far to show that the Hebrew writer knew the Babylonian story and remodelled it, even took over some words which he either was not sure of translating or regarded as innocent. So the Hebrews had no objection to using the Babylonian weights and measures, at any rate calling their own by the same names; so they used the Canaanite month names which were once used in Babylonia; later they adopted the later Babylonian month names, without boggling at such heathen names as Tammuz. It is quite another thing to say that their religion was dependent on Babylonian religion. In a sense it was, for in many ways it used their material, or had it in common, but Israelite religion owes its claim to inspiration to the use it made of that material. It is as great a miracle to produce the first chapter of Genesis out of the Babylonian Creation story as to derive it from a common Semitic tradition or to originate it, which miracle we have to admit has to be determined by close comparison of the documents. We are able to make such exact comparison with Babylonian sources in only one or two cases,

owing to the accident of what is preserved. We do not know that the Hebrew writer actually used the seventh century version as we have it. He may have had access to a much earlier form, which lacked many of the objectionable features of that composite and redacted version, and was more like his presentation. Many small indications go to show that Israel was indebted rather to the earlier than to the later Babylonian civilisation.

The Babylonian Sabbath, its Nature.—The origin of the Sabbath has been attributed by many to a Babylonian source. How far this theory can be substantiated very largely depends upon what we agree to accept as a Sabbath. The Babylonians may have had a germ of the institution, while Israel may have given a new significance to the day and a different character to its observance. It is indisputable that the Babylonians attached peculiar significance to the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth and also the nineteenth (perhaps as the forty-ninth day or "week of weeks" from the beginning of the preceding month), in at least two months for which calendars are preserved, the eighth and the second or intercalary Elul. The observance of such days, by the king at any rate, included abstinence from food cooked by fire, from riding in a chariot, from holding court, from state costume, but also from offering sacrifice until evening. That these days were called Sabbaths is not yet known. The name *Shabattu* was applied to the fifteenth of the month, and the word was explained as meaning "the day of rest of the heart"; but the use of that phrase in religious texts shows that in them the "rest of heart" was understood to mean the placating of the Deity. If we assume that in every month these five days were thus observed and that they were all called Sabbaths, we may obtain a striking likeness to the Israelite institution, and may even state with Professor Sayce that "the Sabbath rest was a Babylonian as well as a Hebrew institution," and that "the rest enjoined on the Sabbath was as complete as it was among the Jews in the period after the Babylonish exile". This may have been so, but at present we need to be better informed as to Babylonian theory and practice.

Statistics of Observance in Babylonia.—There exist in our museums a large number of dated deeds and documents concerned with the transfer of all sorts of property, which it has been the somewhat uncritical fashion to term “contracts”. It has occurred to several scholars to examine the dates of these documents, and, arranging them according to the days of the month, to ascertain whether there was any marked abstention from secular business on the alleged Sabbaths. Unfortunately no one has taken the trouble to distinguish the sorts of business done. In the early times of Babylonian history most deeds were sanctioned by an oath in the Temple, before elders and witnesses. It may well have been that such business was so far religious that it was peculiarly appropriate to the Sabbath. Certainly offerings to the gods, payment of tithes, and other Temple dues, gifts to necessitous persons, loans to get in the harvest or for other need, the necessary care of animals, of all which the methodical Babylonian kept dated records, cannot be fairly quoted against him as breach of his Sabbath. It would surely assume a Pharisaic ideal of a Sabbath which no Assyriologist is anxious to claim for Babylonia. When due allowance is made for the nature of business done, it will be found that there was a very marked abstention from secular business on these days in early times. Repeated conquests of Babylonia may naturally have altered native customs, and by the time of the exile the Sabbath may have been less strictly kept. There is, however, one further consideration not to be overlooked. It is known that the Jewish Sabbath was the seventh day of a week which ran on through the year, and, therefore, rarely fell on the seventh day of the month. If we collected the dates from Jewish documents and arranged them according to the days of the month the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first and twenty-eighth would show no evidence of abstention from secular business, for only once in seven months could the seventh be a Sabbath. It is not yet shown that in Nebuchadrezzar’s time the Babylonians still observed the seventh of each month as Sabbath. They may, like the Jews, have kept the seventh day of a week, which did not necessarily begin with the month. Then all argu-

ments from dated documents would be inconclusive. Much more evidence is needed before we can positively state that the Babylonians had exactly such a Sabbath as we usually credit the Jews with possessing, and we do not know how far that Sabbath was strictly observed in Israel at all periods of history.

Israel Subjected to the Influence of Two Great Civilisations.

—It would take hours even to touch upon all the points in which Assyriology contributes to the understanding of the Bible. Until quite lately, both traditional views and advanced criticism presented the history of Israel as quite unique—a historical miracle in fact. Even when it began to be treated as an evolutionary development from primitive religious notions of totemism, animism, fetichism and the like, the evolution of Israel's religion was supposed to take place, if not *in vacuo*, at any rate like a microbic culture, under glass and in a sterilised medium. Now it is our duty to admit that the Hebrew people lived under the influence of at least two great civilisations, with which Palestine was always in contact, those of Egypt and Babylonia (Assyria was but the daughter of Babylonia; Phœnicia, Assyria and all the nations round about Israel had been under Babylonian influence from early times). The Hebrew writers never blink the fact, historians and prophets have almost as much to say about the surrounding nations as about Israel, and they never pretend to ignore, however much they may denounce, foreign influence on their nation.

It may shock the traditional sentiment that Babylon is the enemy of God to think that her influence had any share in shaping the revelation of God. That is a false estimate of influence in general and this in particular. If the whole of Israel's history had been one continued effort to repel, to counteract, to revolt from Babylonian influence, morals and civilisation, it would be even so a gigantic monument to that influence, as the warfare of a saintly life is a tribute to the power of evil. It would also be one of the most monstrous iniquities the world has yet seen. For Babylonian religion, morals and civilisation yield to none, when due account is taken of essentials. What people can im-

prove upon the Babylonian precept : "To him that doth thee an ill deed, recompense a gracious favour" ?

A favourite objection to the assertion of influence is the undeniable fact that, despite the Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan religions having been professed by the country for ages, Palestine still remains in the same state of primitive religion which preceded them all. This is a mere evasion. We have not to consider the influence of Babylonia on the modern inhabitants of Palestine, but on the Hebrew religion as presented to us in the books of the Old Testament. In so far as modern Palestine is free from that influence the freedom is due to the fact that those sacred books have so far failed to touch the life of the people. The same I take to be true of all ages, races and religions. When the Hebrews were still an independent people I imagine that the laws of Moses and the sermons of the prophets hardly touched the people more. When every village had its Christian church and a Christian king ruled over Jerusalem, I take it that the majority of the people were of much the same religion as now. When every voice repeated, "There is one God and Mohammed is His prophet," most hearts worshipped as many gods or saints as now, and had in Mohammed but one prophet more.

I take it that at no time, until the return of the Jews from the Captivity, was Judaism the religion of anything like the majority of the people. Only this was true : the true Israelite, to whom alone we can award the title, was he who, in all ages, did accept that teaching which in his stock, not racial, social or ecclesiastical, but personal and spiritual, has survived all race, society or organisation, and is imperishably the heritage of mankind. But as it is the heritage of the future, so too it inherited, I will not say all that was best, but its own guided selection of what was congenial to its spirit. Inasmuch as this selection was conducted through human agency, through men who were Jews by race, lived in Palestine, were members of a great theocratic church, we do them honour by calling it after them, the Jewish faith, the Hebrew religion—in fine, the Revelation of God in the Old Testament.

Its literary monument is the Old Testament, as we have it. That is at once a history, a religion, a literature. That yields itself to every form of study. It is legitimately subjected to all methods of criticism. It is itself permanent, while the methods are subject to incessant revision and development. It is the fact, or collection of facts; they are the scientific laws or theories. They stand or fall by the completeness with which they cover all the facts, not by any self-derived persuasiveness or inherent probability.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

THE BOOKS OF THE CHRONICLES : AN ELEMENTARY STUDY IN BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

REV. GRAINGER TANDY, M.A.

I want to write a paper for ordinary Bible readers—for just the people who will at once “shy” at the explanatory sub-heading of this article. For Biblical Criticism is undoubtedly a science heavily handicapped by its name. It suggests immediately something antagonistic and destructive; an irreverent handling of holy things; an assault on the sacred records of our religion. Yet in itself, Biblical Criticism need not involve all this. It means simply an inquiry into the authorship, date and literary construction of the various books of the Bible—an inquiry which it is of course quite possible to ignore, but which it is absolutely impossible to prevent. During the last half-century the Bible has been passing under a minute examination at the hands of some of the foremost European scholars, and it is hardly conceivable that such work has been entirely without result. That such “results” range from the wildest speculations of certain “advanced critics” to the more generally accepted conclusions which approach the category of ascertained facts, is only what we should expect in such an inquiry. Our attitude, one would naturally think, should be one of examination—nay, must be, if we would disprove what is false and understand what is true. To ignore all the results as possibly inconsistent with our traditional or preconceived notions of what the Bible ought to be is as dangerous as it is foolish. It does not stop the inquiry: it only suggests that we are afraid of it. It encourages the unbeliever to assume an antagonism between historical investigation and Christian faith. It suggests a dread of possible truth and an inability to wage war against error. It enables the merest guesses to take rank in men’s minds with the most probable truths. And it places us as individuals in the

dangerous position of those who withstood Galileo, or refused to recognise the teaching of geology. Such a position is not a defence, but an imperilling of the real authority and teaching of Holy Scripture. One has only to consider how much of our current belief about the construction of the Old Testament is simply the crystallised and traditional form of guesses and speculations in the past to see how wide may be the field for more accurate investigation in the present; and as believers in the Divine Revelation we need never fear that light will destroy truth. Nay, the real message of the books, the gradual unfolding of a progressive revelation, becomes clearer just in proportion as we are able to trace out more and more definitely the *method* by which God of old time spake unto the fathers "by divers portions and in divers manners".

Now, to any one who is minded to become acquainted with the real drift and scope of Biblical Criticism, I would recommend as a starting-point the careful study of some special portion of the Old Testament, with the view to learning, not merely what the message is, but the particular form in which the message has come to us. And for our purpose I select as most suitable the two books which are known to us as 1 and 2 Chronicles. These two books form a convenient and manageable whole; they are marked by a manifest unity of aim and purpose; and they can be dealt with satisfactorily without the employment of any highly technical methods, or even a knowledge of Hebrew. The fact that they are mainly historical, and are less familiar to the average reader than many parts of Holy Scripture, is in itself an advantage for our purpose: we shall be the better able to treat them impartially, without any risk of the shock and resentment which we inevitably feel when the more familiar stories and teachings of the Bible seem to be put in a new setting, or to be affected by considerations which modify our earlier conceptions.

Let us, then, take the two books of the Chronicles in their ordinary form in a Revised English Bible, and see what they have to teach us.

1. First, then, note that the question of Authorship is left

quite open. Who wrote the books is altogether undecided. The Talmud, indeed, in the celebrated passage in which an author is found for each book of the Jewish Canon, assigns at least a portion of the Chronicles to Ezra ; but the tradition is so late, and the whole passage so manifestly unhistorical and impossible, that it need hardly claim our attention here. Had the tradition become incorporated in the title of the Chronicles, as it has in some other books of the Old Testament, we might feel it necessary to examine the grounds upon which such a guess was based ; and I think we should quickly come to the conclusion that in the absence of definite assertion in the books themselves, the traditional authorship of any portion of the Jewish Canon is very doubtful, and must always give way to considerations drawn from internal evidence. But in this case we have no such task. The books of the Chronicles come to us as avowedly anonymous, and their value for us depends, not upon who wrote them, but upon what he wrote. And the importance of this feature is much greater than might at first sight appear. Authorship is not half so vital a question as we are apt to think. Books are freely admitted into the Canon whose writers are quite unknown. And if this be so in the later history of the Jews, we need not be greatly disturbed if we find the same conclusion to be probable in the case of some of the earlier books. Anyhow, we put it down as our first point :—

The books of the Chronicles are an anonymous work.

2. Note next the lateness of the books.

It is very easy to exaggerate the importance of date : a book may be very early, and yet apocryphal ; or very late, and yet preserve a true tradition. No book of the Old Testament can be made to depend for its value and truthfulness on the date at which it was written. We need never be in the least alarmed by the discovery that any portion of the sacred record was compiled at a later period than we had supposed.

But from another point of view the question of date is important for us here. The Chronicler carries us in his history

down to "the first year of Cyrus" (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22); *i.e.*, to the Return from Babylon. The books, therefore, quite clearly could not have been written *before* that event: they must be post-exilic. But if you turn to 1 Chron. iii. 17-24, you will find the genealogy carried on to the *sixth* generation after Zerubbabel (or if we follow the reading of several ancient versions, to the *eleventh* generation), which fixes the actual date of the writer later still. In any case, of course, our author could not have been an eyewitness of much that he relates; the main mass of his history is a record of events which occurred ages before he was born. And even when we come to the later chapters of his books (if we are guided by his own indications of the date at which he writes) we find him dealing with what is already ancient history. Our second point therefore is clear:—

The books of the Chronicles are in no part contemporary history, but are a record written long after the events related.

3. I will ask you now to take your Bible and with a coloured pencil mark off the following passages, so as to distinguish them clearly from the rest of the record.¹

1 Chron. x. 1-12; xi. 1-40 *; xiii. 6-14; xiv. 1-16; xv. 25-29; xvi. 1-3, 8-36, 43; xvii. 1-27; xviii. 1-17; xix. 1-19; xx. 1-8 *; xxi. 1-4, 8-27 *; xxix. 23, 27.

2 Chron. i., 3 (to *Gibeon*), 6 (from *and offered*)-12, 14-17; ii. 1-18 *; iii. 1-13, 15-17; iv. 2-22; v. 1-11 (to *holy place*), 13 (from *that then*), 14; vi. 1-39; vii. 4, 5, 7-12 (to *thy prayer*), 16 (from *and hallowed*)-22; viii. 1-13 *, 17, 18; ix. 1-28, 30, 31; x. 1-19; xi. 1-4; xii. 2 (to *Jerusalem*), 9-11, 13, 15 (from *and there*), 16; xiii. 1, 2; xiv. 1-5 *; xv. 16-18; xvi. 1-6, 12-14 *; xvii. 1 (to *his stead*); xviii. 1-34; xx. 31-33 (to *taken away*), 35, 36, 37 (from *and the ships*); xxi. 1, 5-10 (to *his hand*), 20 *; xxii. 2-6, 10-12; xxiii. 1-21 *; xxiv. 1-14, 23-27 *; xxv. 1-4, 17-28 *; xxvi. 1-4, 21-23 *; xxvii. 1, 2 (to *had done*), 3 (to *the Lord*), 8, 9; xxviii. 1-27 *; xxix. 1, 2; xxxii. 9-21 *, 24-33 *; xxxiii. 1-10, 20-25; xxxiv. 1-11 *, 15-31; xxxv. 18-24 *; xxxvi. 1-12 *.

¹ The actual marking off is a real help in showing at a glance how much of the books is derived from other sources, and in leaving clear the portions that represent the compiler's own work.

The passages we have thus distinguished represent the portions of the Chronicles which are derived from other books of the Old Testament. They consist almost entirely of extracts from the existing historical literature of the nation. If the passages be read and (with the aid of a reference Bible) be compared with the corresponding portions of the earlier books, it will readily be seen how much the Chronicler is indebted to former writers—not merely for his facts, but for his language. After the first eight chapters, which consist of genealogical notes gathered almost entirely from Genesis to 2 Samuel, and chapter ix., which enumerates the principal families in Jerusalem after the Return, the history proper is carried forward from the death of Saul (1 Chron. x) to the captivity under Zedekiah (2 Chron. xxxvi.), in a series of extracts from the corresponding portions of 1 and 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings. These extracts, which form the actual framework of the history, are for the most part *verbatim*—the passage being lifted bodily and transferred by the Chronicler to his new work. The portions distinguished in the above list (*) are in some degree marked by the compiler's hand, either in the way of expansion, condensation, or alteration—changes varying from the simple addition of a word or two, as in the majority of the instances (*cf.* 1 Chron. xx. 4-8 with 2 Sam. xxi. 18-22), to the extreme abridgment of 2 Kings xx. into 2 Chron. xxxii. 24-33. These changes and additions may be set on one side for further consideration ; what remains in all the above passages is taken absolutely word for word from the earlier books.

There is, of course, nothing in this to lessen in the smallest degree the trustworthiness of the Chronicler. History is certainly not made less true because the historian has used largely existing historical documents. Every writer of history must do this if his work is to be worth anything at all. It is true that nowadays we should expect a modern author to tell us when he is quoting *verbatim* from other works, and we feel at first some surprise that the Chronicler has given us no hint when he does so. But we have no right to impose our laws of copyright on an age

which manifestly did not recognise them. In the compiler's day, a writer was evidently free to take and incorporate in his work whatever existing material served his purpose, and felt no obligation to use inverted commas. Nor is there the slightest suggestion of fraudulent authorship about such a method here. The extracts are too long and too numerous (forming a fair half of the completed work) to escape notice; the sources of his quotations are too public and well known for anybody to imagine that they form an original composition. In taking the existing records of Samuel and Kings as the basis of his own work, the compiler was probably doing just what everybody expected him to do; and there would be no surprise when people found how largely he has done it. The fact that in earlier days men worked by literary methods and standards differing from our own is the key to many problems of the Old Testament; and the recognition of it here is inevitable.

The Chronicles are largely a compilation from other canonical books.

4. But our writer not only makes considerable extracts from Samuel and Kings: he also quotes and uses freely other documents. Take another coloured pencil and mark the following passages:—

(1) 1 Chron. ix. 1.—“The Book of the Kings of Israel.”

(2) 1 Chron. xxix. 29.—“The history of Samuel the seer, the history of Nathan the prophet, and the history of Gad the seer.”

(3) 2 Chron. ix. 29.—“The history of Nathan the prophet, the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite, and the visions of Iddo the seer.”

(4) 2 Chron. xii. 15.—“The histories of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer.”

(5) 2 Chron. xiii. 22.—“The commentary of the prophet Iddo.”

(6) 2 Chron. xvi. 11; xxv. 26; xxvii. 7; xxviii. 26; xxxv. 26, 27; xxxvi. 8.—“The Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel,” or “Israel and Judah”.

(7) 2 Chron. xx. 34.—“The history of Jehu the son of Hanani, inserted in the Book of the Kings of Israel.”

(8) 2 Chron. xxiv. 27.—“The commentary of the Book of the Kings.”

(9) 2 Chron. xxvi. 22.—“Isaiah’s ‘Acts of Uzziah’.”

(10) 2 Chron. xxxii. 32.—“The vision of Isaiah the prophet, in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel.”

(11) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18.—“The Acts of the Kings of Israel.”

(12) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 19.—“The history of Hozai.”

(13) 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.—“The Lamentations.”

So far as the titles are concerned the references in (1), (6), (8), (10) and (11) *might* be to the existing 1 and 2 Kings; but the particulars for which the compiler cites their authority are so often not contained in the canonical books as we possess them, that we cannot escape the conclusion that he is quoting from other records bearing these names. All the other quotations are from works outside the Canon, the originals of which have not come down to us.

Again, you will mark a very obvious historical method. If a man is to write genuine history, be it sacred or profane, it is implied that he will make use of all available sources of information. It does not lessen our confidence in his work to find that he has done this; on the contrary it increases immensely the value of what he writes. It would be a most lazy theory of inspiration which would postulate a Divine revelation to a writer of things which he could find out for himself, or of events already on record in existing documents. Nor is the reliability of the history affected by the fact that some of the available sources are uncanonical. Narratives outside the Bible may be perfectly true. The absence of the works from the Old Testament is a matter of canonicity, not necessarily of credibility. To shut off the historical writers from all outside sources would be absurd. Anyhow, it is not what happened here.

The Chronicler uses largely documents not included in the Jewish Canon.

5. Now let us turn to the *unmarked* portions of the books, which (together with the insertions and changes made in the extracts already distinguished) represent the compiler's own work. Even here we must make some further reduction. The long lists of names, etc. (such as we find in 1 Chron. xii., xv., xxiii.-xxvii.) can hardly be claimed as original compositions, and were probably copied from official documents (see 1 Chron. v. 17; ix. 1). What remains may be marked as the Chronicler's, and is characterised throughout by three distinguishing features:—

(1) A distinct literary style, manifest even to an English reader in the recurring phrases and expressions, the use of peculiar words, and the similar construction of sentences—a style so marked even in reporting speeches or the messages of prophets that it would not be difficult, apart from the analysis we have already effected, to separate at once almost all that belongs properly to his own pen.

(2) An ecclesiastical tone. Note how much of the additional matter consists of the provisions for public worship, the fuller accounts of religious ceremonies and the Temple rites, the constant allusions to the priests, the Levites and the singers. The detailed description of the Passovers of Hezekiah and Josiah, the former of which is not even mentioned in Kings, and the latter only briefly; the ceremonial care of the Ark (1 Chron. xv. and xvi. to 42); David's preparations for the Temple (1 Chron. xxviii., xxix.); the ritual notes interpolated in the account of the Dedication (2 Chron. v. 11-13; vii. 1-3, 6; viii. 14-16); the explanation of Uzziah's leprosy (2 Chron. xxvi. 16-20); the insertion of notices of the priests and Levites even in extracts otherwise *verbatim* from Kings (2 Chron. xxiii., 2, 6, 7, 18; xxiv. 5, 6, 11, etc.), are all instances of this tendency. And the ecclesiastical bent of the Chronicler is not less manifest in the *omissions* of his history than in what he retains or adds. The reign of Saul and the incidents which belong to the *private* life of David are almost entirely passed over, as not bearing on his purpose. After the division of the kingdom, the northern schism is practically ignored—it passes outside the radius of the Temple worship and the established religion. It is Judah that alone claims his atten-

tion as the exponent of the law and the preserver of the national faith. So marked are these omissions that did we not possess 1 and 2 Kings, we might almost imagine that the ten-tribed kingdom was non-existent. And the principle which directs the writer all through is the same. As compared with the earlier books, we may say that the Chronicles present the history re-written from an ecclesiastical standpoint—a Church history written by a Jewish High Churchman.

(3) A moral purpose. Notice how frequently the writer calls our attention to the events as consequences of conduct, good or bad (1 Chron. x. 13, 14; 2 Chron. xii. 2-8, 12; xiii. 18; xv. 1-15; xvi. 7-10; xvii. 3-10; xx. 37; xxi. 10-20; xxii. 7; xxvi. 5-20; xxviii. 18, 19; xxxiii. 11-13; xxxvi. 13-16, etc.). Until one comes to examine carefully, it is not easy to realise how large a portion of the compiler's work is due entirely to this ethical purpose, this desire to show the moral teaching of the history. He will never let us read the story and miss the moral. Preferably by the message of a prophet (note how frequently they appear in these books as compared with 1 and 2 Kings), or failing that, by his own commentary, he is ever showing us that the things happened in no casual way, but as the working out of the Divine government of the nation: God punishing wickedness and rewarding righteousness.

Apart from these characteristics it would be difficult to account at all for the books we are considering. Why write again a history given so fully in 1 and 2 Kings? Chronicles gives us hardly any fresh facts, and as a national history is not nearly so complete as the earlier records. Its construction as a mere record is imperfect and unnecessary. But as a Church history, compiled specially to present the story from an ecclesiastical and moral point of view, its existence is at once explained and its characteristics accounted for.

The Chronicles represent history re-written with a purpose, and the compiler throughout, in his selection of materials and in his presentation of the story, is influenced by the standpoint from which he writes.

6. Closely connected with this purpose is another characteristic of his work. The Chronicler, as we have said, is a Jewish High Churchman, saturated with the law as contained in Leviticus and Numbers, and constantly testing the national history by its conformity to the strict and full requirements of that law. And the test is not always easy to apply; for often the extracts he has to make from Samuel and Kings exhibit an apparent disregard of the requirements of the law which is startling and surprising. For instance:—

(a) In 2 Sam. vi. we have the original accounts of the removal of the Ark; first to the house of Obed-Edom, and then to the tent which David had prepared for it. In making his extracts, which are almost verbal (see 1 Chron. xiii., 6-14, xv. 25-29), the compiler could scarcely fail to note that while in the law¹ the care and movement of the Ark are specially confined to the priests and Levites, in the narrative from Samuel these official guardians are conspicuous by their absence. Can any one doubt that 1 Chron. xv. 1-24 is the compiler's recognition of the discrepancy and his attempt to supply the material for harmonising the divergence?

(b) Again, in the law, the place of sacrifice is strictly limited to the central sanctuary; "high places" elsewhere are forbidden under the severest penalties.² But in the narrative extracted from Samuel and Kings we find this principle more than once set on one side. David (2 Sam. xxiv.) sacrifices at the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite; and the Chronicler in making the extract is not satisfied until he has furnished an explanation of the inconsistency (1 Chron. xxi. 28-30). So, too, the addition in 2 Chron. i. 3-6 is evidently made to justify Solomon's worship at Gibeon. The frequent insertions concerning the "Priests and Levites" which we have already noticed as running through the whole work are part of the same desire to meet the difficulties of the narrative, and to obviate discrepancies between the requirements of the law and the conclusions we might draw from the history in Samuel and Kings.

¹ Num. iii. 31; iv. 1-15, etc.

² Lev. xvii. 1-9; Deut. xii. 5-14, etc.

In other words :—

We find in the Chronicles a harmonising tendency, the effort of the writer to combine divergent and apparently inconsistent material.

7. Hitherto our conclusions have been fairly obvious, such as will hardly be questioned by any one who takes the trouble to look at the evidence. My next point must be stated more hypothetically, not because I am in doubt about it myself, but because the proof of it is less conclusive in definite detail, and depends more upon the impression produced by a study of Chronicles as a whole than upon the examination of particular passages. I question whether such a study will leave any one quite satisfied with the absolute historical accuracy of all the details of the compiler's work. We need not for a moment suppose that he deliberately invents, or that he has no historical basis for the additional colouring which he imparts to the story he has to relate; but writing as he does in a later and more highly organised period of Jewish history, it seems impossible to resist the conclusion that his presentation of the facts is influenced by the age in which he lives and the larger conceptions of his own mind. He sees things much bigger than they appear to us in Samuel and Kings. His numbers are throughout higher than in the earlier records. David (1 Chron. xxii. 14), gathers together in the latter years of his life gold for the Lord's house equal to 150 years' revenue of Solomon at the height of his prosperity (1 Kings x. 14.). Armies and battles are on an enormous scale. The organised bands of singers and Temple officers, and the elaborate religious services, are no doubt an accurate reflection of what the writer found in his own day, and would naturally furnish particulars as he endeavours to reconstruct for us the scenes of the past; but they often seem inconsistent with the silence or the simpler narratives of the earlier books. And this difference of conception grows upon one as the two histories are studied together. We feel constantly that the compiler's additions are like paintings inserted in a collection of photographs. And the conviction seems irresistible that while the Chronicler is much

more graphic and writes from a much higher ethical and religious standpoint, he is, just because of his later date and environment, less of an authority on details. If we have to choose,¹ we can hardly doubt that on such points the earlier representations are more true to the actual facts. Of course it does not affect the argument if we prefer to reverse the process, and where the differences exist make Kings give way to Chronicles. In either case the conclusion will be much the same.

Without affecting at all the general credibility of the books, we cannot always speak with absolute certainty as to the historical accuracy of some of the details.

Now let us sum up our results.

Without any elaborate critical apparatus or technical method, but by a simple study of the books as they come into our hands, we are compelled to recognise that a work which we all acknowledge as inspired and canonical exhibits the following features: It is the production of an anonymous author, writing long after the events which he relates. It is a compilation from earlier documents, many of the sources being uncanonical. The work is influenced throughout by the writer's purpose and aim, and the age in which he writes. It exhibits traces of the desire to combine and harmonise divergent elements. And it suggests at least the possibility that absolute historical accuracy may not be claimed for some of the details which fill in the picture.

And if this be so, need we be so very much disturbed by the suggestion that other books of the Old Testament may be marked by similar characteristics; that a portion of what we call the Book of Isaiah may really be the work of an unknown author; that Daniel was written much later than we have supposed; that the Pentateuch is a composite work, a blending of several ancient documents; that Deuteronomy is the law re-written with a

¹ There are cases where we must choose. Collate 2 Chron. xiv. 3, 5, *took away the high places*, with 1 Kings xv. 14; 2 Chron. xv. 19, *no more war*, with 1 Kings xv. 16; 2 Chron. xxi. 20, *not in the sepulchres*, with 2 Kings viii. 24; 2 Chron. xxii. 2, *forty and two*, with 2 Kings viii. 26, etc. In these and other instances we seem compelled in accepting one narrative to question the accuracy of detail in the other. But the argument rests less upon isolated discrepancies than upon the general differences of conception which mark the diverse standpoints of the writers.

purpose, and influenced by the new conditions of the writer's age; that in certain places, such as the story of Joseph (Gen. xxxvii.), the crossing of Jordan (Josh. iii. and iv.), the introduction of David to Saul (1 Sam. xvi.-xviii.), etc., we have the blending of varying and divergent traditions; that the details of the Book of Judges are less reliable than the broad lines of the history?

I do not mean, of course, that an examination of Chronicles *proves* anything whatever about the other books. As I said at the outset, the assertions of Biblical Criticism range from the merest guesses to the highest degrees of probability; and the whole point of my contention is a plea for separate discrimination and judgment. But I do claim that our study precludes the *a priori* assumption of the impossibility of such conclusions, and enables us to approach each separate problem with that open mind which is essential to the attainment of the truth. And it is this attitude of *consideration* which seems to me, at the present stage, to be of much higher importance than any particular results which we may accept as established—the Christian attitude of those who believe that truth must be God's truth, however it may come to us; and that we shall best understand God's Book by learning all that we can of the method by which God brought it into being.

GRAINGER TANDY.

THE FULNESS OF TIME.

REV. W. F. BLUNT, M.A., Fellow and Classical Lecturer of Exeter College,
Oxford.

Gal. iv. 4.—But when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son.

It is St. Paul's deliberate conviction that the whole history of the world before the coming of Christ is essentially and intrinsically a giant scheme of preparation for that advent. The purpose of the world's religions was to school men in the worship of God, to discipline them in the knowledge of right and wrong, and this purpose they had effected with varying degrees of success. Wiser in this respect than many subsequent Christian teachers, St. Paul never condemns the Jewish or the heathen religions as false and degrading; in his view, anything which taught men something about a Supreme Power must have an element of Divinely-given truth in it. He knew well that, however imperfect the ideas of earlier religions, they were nevertheless in some sense the revelation of the God who made heaven and earth, and he knew too that the object of Christ's coming was not to destroy this previous and partial revelation, but to fulfil it, to complete it, to round it off by a new and final manifestation of the Divine love. The Jewish religion was the "pedagogue" appointed by God to train men in the rudiments of religion preliminary to the coming of "that which was perfect"; to the pagan Athenians St. Paul could proclaim, "whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you". And this view is summed up in the opening words of the Epistle to the Hebrews, words which, whether St. Paul wrote them or not, he would surely have made his own and applied in an even wider context than that in which they originally occur: "God, having of old spoken to the fathers by various methods of fragmentary revelation, has at the end of these days spoken to us in a Son". The

earlier religions were designed by God to make men feel the need of something more of some supplementary truth ; they proclaimed a prohibitive law : "Thou shall not do these things," "Touch not, taste not, handle not" ; and the religious man was the man who obeyed this law with scrupulous punctiliousness, in its little as well as in its great requirements.

In the childhood of the world man had, like a child, to be taught by rote, to be coerced by a system of definite rules and rigid observances. Heathenism and Judaism, though on different planes, were alike means to this end, methods of discipline and training, which by teaching men what was right and wrong prepared them to learn what was good and bad, which kept them under the bondage of obedience to set and formal rules, in order that they might be fitted to use and enjoy aright the liberty of spiritual manhood in Christ.

But the heathen and Jewish religions had, by the end of the pagan era, done all that they could do ; their day was past and they were perishing for want of the Spirit to renew and recreate them. Judaism had long ago proved its inability to regenerate the world ; it had identified itself with national ideas and customs and aspirations to such an extent and with such slavish closeness that it had ceased to desire and could never hope that it might become the religion of the world. Stifled under a ritualistic code which had taken the place of religious fervour, it had lost most of the vivifying power which had raised the Jewish nation to its religious pre-eminence ; "there was not one prophet left," for the simple reason that religion was no longer a living enthusiasm but a dead formula. Heathenism was in an even worse condition, because there the truth about God was overlaid with a thicker crust of human error and ignorance. Man had learnt the conviction of sin, and knew how far he was from God ; but nowhere in the world could he find anything that would bring him closer to the God whose base greatness pressed on mankind with a terrible and intolerable weight. There appeared no glimmer of hope anywhere ; philosophy had lost itself in dry abstractions ; in Plato it had almost been able to create a faith ; in the Stoics

and Epicureans it was but the dilettante word-splitting of wearied mental acrobats. Oriental mysticism had been tried and found wanting, as all mere mysticism must eventually fail. Religion had no longer any grip on men, because it could not provide a positive inspiration to make the obedience of law anything else but a burden and a nuisance.

There was but one power in the world that seemed to provide mankind with the unity they sought in vain elsewhere. That power was the Roman Empire, and we can hardly wonder that the worship of the genius of Rome as embodied in the Roman Emperor seemed to many the only practical solution of the difficulties they felt. The Roman Empire was a concrete fact, obvious to the meanest intelligence, a power from which there was no getting away, a power that compelled the admiration and respect of men, that had subjugated all the civilised world, and held it under a sway which was on the whole honest and just. But as for God, where and what was He? That was a question nobody could answer satisfactorily; and so it is not surprising that men preferred to worship the concrete power that was a fact of everyday experience, rather than the phantom Deity that flitted through the lecture-room of the philosopher and the sophist, the Deity that seemed almost to have given up the pretence of wishing to convince men of His existence.

Surely if we were desirous of finding a real crisis in the history of the world, we could with difficulty discover any epoch that was more critical than this. The Roman Empire was the last and greatest experiment in uniting mankind. If it failed, there was nothing to take its place except the barbaric kingdom of Parthia, or the Teutonic hordes that were in ceaseless turmoil beyond the Roman frontiers; and if either of these alternatives took effect, the result would be a reversion to the primitive barbarism from which the world had emerged with such infinite toil. The hands of the clock would be put back several centuries, and mankind, having cast its slough of ignorance and savagery, having struggled to a dim appreciation of the problems of the universe and the meaning and value of civilisation, would relapse

into its former condition, into that state in which it is the proper subject of study for the anthropologist. And the Roman Empire by itself was bound to fail; it carried within it the seeds of its own decay. The material bond was there, the bond of common subjection to a common sovereign; and the moral bond was there in the worship of ROMA. But where was the spiritual principle that could alone make the restored Empire a living unity? The worship of the emperor could not supply it; that was too obviously a political expedient, devised for the purpose of uniting the heterogeneous elements which composed the Empire in allegiance to a common suzerain. Nobody could pretend to regard the cult of a Tiberius or a Caligula as supplying a spiritual religion. And if anybody, adopting the methods of later papal apologists, professed to worship the man as "Divus Cæsar" in virtue of his office, and to overlook the particular and accidental eccentricities of the individual emperor, even granting that such a view is logically or practically possible, it inevitably led to a conclusion that destroyed all chance of extracting a religion from such a system. The system became merely the worship of a Divine auto-emperor, and as such was doomed to perish. As Froude says: "The administration of Augustus was the most perfect system of secular government ever known, and the attributes assigned to Augustus were the apotheosis of it. The principle of Augustus was the establishment of law and order, of justice and decency of conduct; of the heroic virtues or even modest virtues of purity and sense of moral responsibility such a system knew nothing, and offered no motive for moral enthusiasm. Order and law and decency are the body of a society, but are a body without a soul; and without a soul, the body, however vigorous its sinews, must die and go to corruption. Human improvement is from within outwards. . . . Spiritual regeneration comes first, moral after it, political and social last. To reverse the order is to plant a flower which has been cut from its natural stem, which can bloom but for a day and die."

For mankind can never be united in the cult of an abstrac-

tion. A base ideal is a mere figure-head, and must in very short time be emptied of all influence, whilst its power in moving mankind wanes, as some new or repainted figure-head arises to take its place, only in its turn to pass away. An ideal must be personal, embodied in a person and safeguarded by an institution, if it is to be lasting. It is not the categorical imperative which we allow to bully us, but the policeman and the magistrate. It is not the abstract good of the world which we strive to promote, but the concrete good of the mankind we know. It is not supreme law which we worship, but God. It is not the Christian character which we try to imitate, but Christ. And it is in its relation to this fact that Christianity justifies itself, and that St. Paul's claim that the advent of Christ was "timely" appears to be most obviously true. For Christianity provided a bond of union for mankind, cemented by the blood of a Person, and embodied in an institution or society; Christ and the Church are the two fundamental contributions of Christianity to the progress of the world, and without them Christianity has no more claim to be a universal and cosmopolitan religion, than limited monarchy has to be a universal form of government.

The pagan civilisation was decaying; what was to save it? The union of the Roman Empire was not durable; what was to replace it? The answer in each case was provided by Christianity. It was the spirit of Christ alone which could save and renew and regenerate the old civilisation; it was the Church of Christ alone which could provide a wider union to supersede the Roman Empire, a union which was irrespective of age, sex or country. It was by a sure instinct that St. Paul seized and made his own the idea of Christianity as primarily the religion of the Roman Empire. That was the idea which inspired all his missionary labours; and it was abundantly right, because Christianity furnished just what was wanting to make the Roman Empire a living unity, and round that nucleus the barbarian nations, nations even of which St. Paul knew nothing, could gradually gather, until the Catholic ideal shall be realised and all mankind united by the strongest bond of all, the community of

spirit animating the society. As the Roman Empire gradually decays and splits to pieces, there rises on its ruins the edifice of the Christian Church, and by its influence and its coherence saves all in the old pagan civilisation that was most worth saving.

Nothing else could have done it ; there was no other power on earth strong enough to furnish men with a really vital principle of union, strong enough to preserve Roman civilisation through all the disturbances and disruptions that shook the Empire to its base, strong enough to tame and conquer the alien invaders who pressed in to dismember it and divide the spoil. Greek culture had been saved by the "*Græcæ artes*," but Greeks and Romans were not of such different race, nor so vastly removed from one another in ideas and civilisation as were the Romans and the Goths or the Vandals or the Teutons. The Græco-Roman world without Christianity must have sunk into oblivion, and all the wonderful products of that world, art, letters, law, discipline, all the factors of the modern liberal education would have remained but as the fragments of a lost epoch of the world's history, to be discovered and pieced together perhaps by the patient investigation of the archæologist, but not to leave any legitimate offspring behind them, not to exercise any definite or decisive influence on the ages that were to come. Greece and Rome would have been to us in much the same position as Chaldæa or Assyria, merely isolated wonders for the antiquary to examine and nothing more.

It is hardly possible to estimate the boon which the world owes to Christianity for its work of preservation in this connection ; the imagination reels in the attempt to picture modern life deprived of its heritage from the "Classical" period. And it must be owned that the world seems very reluctant to acknowledge its debt. Largely no doubt this is due to the unfortunate action of the Christian Church itself, which from varying motives at some times anathematised all art and secular knowledge, and seemed to identify itself with ignorance and obscurantism, while at other periods it petted and indulged art and restricted its scope by over-indulgence of one particular department of artistic pro-

duction. The Church which proscribed the Renaissance movement can hardly be considered cleared of unwisdom. But the ingratitude of the world is also much to blame. Mankind is very reluctant to acknowledge that it owes anything to any influence that is not purely human ; men are perversely unwilling to admit of superhuman protection and direction in details, however readily they may admit, as an academic truism, the general directive authority of a world Governor. And it is such a characteristic that is responsible for the common argument against Christianity, that our modern secular culture is wholly the offspring of the Græco-Roman civilisation and owes infinitesimally little to Christianity. Untrue as that statement is as to fact, it is still more fatuous as an argument against Christianity. For in truth it is rather among the proudest boasts of our religion, that when nothing else could by any possibility preserve the riches gained in the progress of the world, Christianity did so, almost unaided. It is one of the chief glories of Christianity that, not content with regenerating the world, it also saved for it all those priceless treasures accumulated by centuries of wisdom and intellect, which must otherwise have been overwhelmed and practically lost for ever, in the general cataclysm of the barbarian invasions. And if we hold the world-process to have been really one of progressive amelioration (and can any other view be for a moment maintained save as a paradox to promote debate?) we shall feel that no apology is needed for these achievements of Christianity, and we shall be able to appreciate with increased intensity and intelligence the complete meaning of St. Paul's phrase : "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son".

A. W. F. BLUNT.

REVIEWS.

The Authority of Christ.¹ By DAVID W. FORREST, D.D.

Dr. Forrest has given us a very interesting book on a subject of great importance in the present day, but in our opinion his book would have been still more valuable if he had confined himself more to principles and given less attention to controversial matters. In other words, the first three chapters on the recognition of Christ as the Incarnate Son, on the Illegitimate Extension of Christ's authority, and on Christ's Authority on God ; and the sixth and seventh chapters on Christ's Authority on Human Destiny, and on the Incarnation and the Holy Spirit, are all very good, in parts very good indeed ; but the fourth and fifth chapters on His authority on Individual Duty and on Corporate Duty might have been very considerably condensed or even omitted altogether. They contain very little that has not been said equally well elsewhere, and they are too much concerned with controversies of transient interest.

But Dr. Forrest's book has two great merits : he fairly faces difficulties, and he writes in a singularly clear and pleasant style. Any man of fair education will be able to read this book with great pleasure, and, what is much more important, will find that its author has thrown much light on many of the difficulties that perplex men in the present day. Take, for instance, the question of Christ's quotations from the Old Testament and His references to events recorded therein, how far does the former bear on the question of the authorship of particular books, or the latter on the correctness of the narratives ? Opinions differ, and there are very weighty names to be quoted on different sides. Take the crucial instance of the 110th Psalm. Almost every one knows from magazine articles and popular literature that most scholars deny that Davidic authorship which Christ appears to assert. If modern scholars are right, Christ seems to have spoken in ignorance, and as such a suggestion seems contrary to the doctrine of His Divinity, men are naturally perplexed. Dr. Forrest fairly faces the question, and writes clearly in a non-professional style. First, he shows that the Incarnation must carry with it certain limitations, and why it must. Then he goes into detail, and shows that not only does the doctrine necessitate certain intellectual and other limita-

¹ *The Authority of Christ.* By David W. Forrest, D.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Price 6s.

tions without which it would be impossible to predicate the perfect humanity of Christ, but that the Gospel narratives are quite in accordance.

"The idea that Christ as the Incarnate Son possessed every mental quality and acquisition may be dismissed as baseless if we allow the portrait given in the Gospels to bear its own witness. The course of the world's history, apart from that of His own race, seems to have been known to Him in no other way and in no greater degree than to others of His fellow countrymen. There is no indication of any acquaintance with the details of the story of Greece or Rome. The non-Jewish people are all massed together in the commonly accepted designation of Gentiles. He looked at life only in the light of religion and applied to it but one test—Was it lived with God or without Him? All these things do the nations of the world seek after—but, Seek ye first the kingdom of God. Greek philosophy and Roman law had apparently no place in His thought. If we are told that He knew these but had no occasion to refer to them, we naturally ask what ground there is for the supposition. And no reply can be given but the old arbitrary hypothesis that the Son of God must have known them" (p. 63).

Chapter VI., on Christ's authority on human destiny, though very interesting, would not be very easy to summarise. Dr. Forrest is undoubtedly quite right in saying the eschatology of St. John's Gospel is "spiritualised"; he says, "It is in every way probable that the spiritualising of eschatological terms was a usage much more frequent with Christ than is represented in the Synoptics, and that the Fourth Gospel has preserved for us many genuine examples of it." On Christ's teaching as to the future of each individual Dr. Forrest says:—

"Though we are not entitled to say that He confined the probation of souls to the present world, we are bound to acknowledge that He did not encourage the thought of its extension into the unseen. May not the reason of His silence be that this was one of the things, like the day of the consummation, which the Father had set within His own authority?" (p. 329).

The last quoted words are at any rate worthy of consideration, but when Dr. Forrest says as regards the two verses, 1 Peter iii. 19 and iv. 6 that there is no indication of a ministry of grace in Hades and "no indication that this idea was shared by the other Apostles or formed part of the common primitive faith; and therefore, according to every sound canon of Biblical criticism, it can only rank as a theologoumenon of Peter," we really must demur. If it is a "sound canon" that doctrine contained in the writings of one Apostle only may be rejected as a theologoumenon, then parts of St. John's Gospel and Epistle are open questions. And to con-

tinue, "Is it at all likely that the Apostle was commissioned to reveal an eschatological truth which was concealed from the Lord Himself or which He deliberately refrained from proclaiming?" is simply begging the question. How does Dr. Forrest know that the truth was so "concealed," or that Christ "deliberately refrained" from teaching it?

We have found the last chapter on the Incarnation and the Holy Spirit far the most interesting in the book. It contains a criticism of Bishop Westcott's Essay on the Gospel of Creation, appended to his Commentary on St. John's Epistles, which we have read with great care and much interest; but we are quite unconvinced. When, however, Dr. Forrest leaves the Bishop's Essay, and goes on to speak of the continuity, progress and development of Christ's work, and therefore of His authority by the perpetual presence with the Church of the Holy Spirit, what he says is exactly what is needed for the present day. Much of Christ's teaching, as enclosed in the shell of the words He used, was intended to awaken men's interests in things spiritual: it was meant, as Canon Lyttelton so admirably teaches in his *Studies on the Sermon on the Mount*, to rouse men to think; and the work of the Holy Spirit is to guide the Church from age to age to adapt the kernel within that shell to present needs. Herein, and not in the slavish adherence to a crude and unintelligent literalism, lies the true authority of Christ. As Dr. Forrest says, "*Semper eadem* is a noble motto for its spiritual message, but a ruinous one for its type of administration; for in the practical sphere not to change is to become feeble or effete". This is quite true, and though we are not prepared to endorse all Dr. Forrest's criticisms of Church organisation and administration, what he says is in the main right in principle. It is an interesting chapter, and is a fitting conclusion to a useful and interesting book.

A History of the Reformation.¹ By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, M.A., D.D. He that goeth about to write a history of the revolt of the Teutonic peoples from the spiritual headship of Rome should remember Tennyson's lines:—

Ye safe and formal men,
Who write the deeds and with unfeverish hand
Weigh in nice scales the motives of the great.

For the period was one when the characters of men are hard to test. Old opinions were passing away rapidly: the fall of Constantinople, the Revival of Learning, the discovery of America, the discredit into which the

¹ *A History of the Reformation.* By Thomas M. Lindsay, M.A., D.D. Volume i., The Reformation in Germany. Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark. Price 10s. 6d.

Papacy had fallen, the unrest amongst the poorer classes, the strange and wild forms of religious excitement of which Dr. Lindsay gives a most interesting account, were certain to produce, and did produce, those abnormal types of character which make a fair judgment on the part of the historian exceedingly difficult. A very interesting note on page 384 shows how thoroughly Dr. Lindsay has felt this: "A man's deep religious convictions can tolerate strange company in most ages, and the fact that we find Romanist champions in France plunging into the deepest profligacy the one week and then undergoing agonies of repentance the next, or that Lutheran leaders combined occasional conjugal infidelities and drinking bouts with zeal for evangelical principles, demands deeper study in psychology than can find expression in the fashion of some modern English historians in a few cheap sneers".

On the whole Dr. Lindsay writes with most laudable fairness, except perhaps as regards Erasmus, to whom he imputes failure and almost a want of religious earnestness. Now, of course, as success is commonly estimated, Erasmus did fail. Yet even those who agree with Dr. Lindsay in their estimate of Erasmus generally add that such failure was inevitable, that the Roman Curia was past reformation. Therefore, when Dr. Lindsay writes (p. 187), "What must fill us with surprise is that the Christian humanists seemed to believe with a child-like innocence that the constituted authorities, secular and ecclesiastical, would lead the way in this peaceful reform, mainly because they were tinged with humanist culture and were the patrons of artists and men of learning," we really must protest. The humanists had more on which to build than the patronage of artists and the like. Bishop Creighton's history has shown us how much the councils, especially Basel, had effected; why might not another council do more? Rome may indeed have been in the sixteenth century what Jerusalem was in the first, but Erasmus could not know that. And why is it "childlike innocence" to trust the work of "constituted authorities," and to believe that the education of the masses of the people (for whom Erasmus *did* care, whatever Dr. Lindsay may say), would slowly and quietly work a better and more permanent reform. Luther's work *may* have been inevitable, but even we cannot certainly know that: the word inevitable should be used by historians with great caution.

We have laid more stress on the one defect in Dr. Lindsay's book than we should otherwise have done, since of the book as a whole it is needless to use ordinary terms of praise. The chapter on Luther, in the Reformation volume of the Cambridge Modern History, was assigned by its editors to Dr. Lindsay; and as the Cambridge Modern History already is

and will, for this generation at any rate, remain the standard history, that alone makes it needless to add more. Of course the volume now before us is much fuller; moreover, there is a chronological summary, always a useful addition. It is especially valuable in its account of the social condition of Germany. The misery of the peasantry; the coarseness of their lives, and especially of their amusements; the hatred of the priests, not as priests, but as evil livers and extortioners—as regards the latter they were counted worse than the Jews—and on the other hand the growth of preaching, which “took a place it had never previously held in the Mediæval Church”; the rapid spread of education and the increase of books, even amongst the peasantry, are all well described, and the part they played in producing the revolt is fully told. It is again made abundantly clear that such revolt was far more against the priesthood, and especially against the Papacy, than against mediæval theology, at any rate until A.D. 1517. Even when in that year Luther published the *Theses*, he had no desire to go to extremes. “If the Roman Curia had supported Miltitz there is no saying how far reconciliation [with the Pope] would have gone.” But Leo X., busy enjoying that Papacy which God, he said, had given him, could only see a monkish quarrel, and then when Germany was roused, we admit such a reform as Erasmus, Colet and many others laboured for and hoped for became impossible.

Dr. Lindsay has again told an oft-told tale; but he has told it well, in a clear and interesting style, though we wish he would not speak of opinions being “voiced”. We are looking forward to the second volume.

The Philosophy of Religion.¹ BY DR. HARALD HÖFFDING. This great work does not read like a “translation,” but exactly like a book in its original language, and we cannot well say more in its favour from this point of view. For a single success, which reproduces faithfully the letter and the spirit of one language in another, there are ninety-nine failures. Mr. T. Bailey Saunders also has won marked distinction in this line. The learned Professor, not unknown to fame before in the philosophical world, has here produced perhaps his masterpiece. And it is surely a conspicuous sign of the times and of the direction in which modern thought moves, that it should be a “Philosophy of Religion”. We have first of all a statement of the “Problem and Procedure,” then the epistemological aspect of the subject, next its psychological, and finally the ethical result, each section containing its own appropriate divisions

¹ *The Philosophy of Religion*. By Dr. Harald Höffding. Translated by B. E. Meyer. Macmillan. Price 12s. net.

and subdivisions, and all being treated as we should expect from the writer's antecedents in the most penetrating and exhaustive manner. We have a searching "Critical Monism" as the author's own position. And let it be said at once that, while we have the profoundest admiration for the power and lucidity of the arguments and the wealth of wisdom displayed, we cannot accept all his conclusions nor Hamilton's "Philosophy of the Unconditioned". Dr. Höffding seems hampered by his belief in the "law of relation" (p. 69), and he quotes with approval Schleiermacher's words to Jacobi, "Rather than deify Nature, you deify consciousness. But, my dear friend, one deification is, at any rate in my eyes, as good as another, . . . we can never get over the opposition between the ideal and the real, or however else you like to call them. . . . Does it not strike you, that a personality must necessarily be *finite* when you yourself endow it with life?" (p. 87). This does not leave the individual *ego* much comfort. But he says (p. 280), "Individual personalities are not only centres of value, they are also centres of experience." And if God is infinite, so far *quâ* personality, man must be. Yet the question arises, Is God more than Personality? And yet the so-called antithesis of the ideal and the real does not exist in a higher synthesis, they simply explain and illustrate each other when they appear most contradictory. Besides, the infinite can only realise itself for us in the finite, and to interpret is not necessarily to limit absolutely or deny. The circle that touches another circle at one point remains a circle still, it does not become a mere point because the place of the contact is small. A partial glimpse of a stupendous whole, revealing in the field of vision or in the form of consciousness but a tiny section of the immense and immeasurable totality, does not preclude that whole. We do not perceive all the rays of light, but we are able to prove the existence of those we cannot see by their operation and their effects. But the most interesting and useful portion of this important book, which must rank among the classics of its kind, we shall all agree to be the last. "It is not without significance that the Church has for the most part thought it dangerous to emphasise too strongly an unconditional surrender, involving complete suppression of all consideration for self." Fénelon was obliged to recall his teaching on the "disinterested love of God" (p. 336). But egoism easily degenerates into an aggravated "other-wordliness," which possesses little moral worth. And it is in his exposition of spiritual values and ethical principles that the Danish Professor seems most practical and convincing and philosophises at his best. "The core of religion consists in the conviction that no value perishes out of the world" (p. 6). He enlarges on the conservation of value. The "ethical con-

sciousness" (p. 339) "is rooted in the profound conviction that there is a value which must be maintained as the highest. Hence at this point the ethical and religious consciousness unite." He quotes Kant as to the significance of wish and longing for the spiritual life. "Did we never exert our powers, except in the assurance that the realisation of the desired object lay within our capability, they would for the most part remain inactive?" And the Professor agrees to some extent with William James that "faith creates its own verification". "Religion," we read (p. 346), and we wish we could disagree with him, "was once the pillar of fire which went before the human race in its great march through history, showing it the way. Now it is fast assuming the rôle of the ambulance, which follows in the rear and picks up the exhausted and wounded. But this too is a great work. It is, however, not sufficient. And when religion has disburdened herself of all her dead values, she will once more in intimate association with ethics rise to be a power which leads men forward." "Religion alone offers a field for the play of all capacities and impulses." Some of Höfding's words are exceedingly wise and opportune. "We cannot live on residues . . . neither can we live on substitutes. We must have equivalents" (p. 348), "and if we hold fast to the side of the conservation of value, we must also hold fast to the possibility of new forms of concentration arising within the sphere of spiritual life, in which the gains which the division of labour has effected will not be sacrificed. . . . The division and dispersal of forces may lead to a higher concentration than any we have known—the higher unity of which Hegel speaks so much."

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Messrs. ADAM & CHARLES BLACK, Soho Square, London.

Old Testament History for Sixth Form Boys, by Rev. T. Nicklin, M.A. Part I. From the Call of Abraham to the Death of Joshua. With thirteen Illustrations and four Maps. 3s.

Tuberculosis: its Origin and Extinction, by W. Pickett Turner, M.D. 2s. 6d. net.

[Shows how by simple means consumption may be eliminated from the country. The author believes that the disease arises from cattle, and is produced in them by placing them in dark, ill-lighted buildings. The author suggests means which, he declares, would save 60,000 lives annually. The book contains several illustrations.]

From Messrs. T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street, Edinburgh.

The Christian Doctrine of Salvation, by George Barker Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. International Theological Library. 12s. net.

[The author's aim is to present a Biblical, historical and constructive discussion of the Christian doctrine of salvation. The theme, being regarded primarily as a subject for investigation, has been approached from the historical side. The author has attempted to judge the various opinions reviewed, and to test his own by means of the fundamental Christian concepts of God and of man. The discussion presupposes a general knowledge of Biblical theology and of the history of Christian doctrine.]

Comparative Religion: its Genesis and Growth, by Louis Henry Jordan, B.D., late Special Lecturer in Comparative Religion at the University of Chicago. With an Introduction by Principal Fairbairn, D.D. 12s net.

[This book presents a sketch of the advent of a new line of research, the difficulties which it has had to encounter, the problems which it has set itself to solve, and the results which thus far it has been able to register. The author has equipped himself for his task by staying at various Universities, and reading at various Libraries of Europe, and by travelling and studying in the East. This volume is to be supplemented by two others which will shortly appear.]

From Mr. FRANCIS GRIFFITHS, 34 Maiden Lane, London.

The Elements of Greek Worship, by S. C. Kaines-Smith,
M.A. 2s. 6d. net.

[This book is designed as a guide to the spirit rather than the letter of Greek religion. It endeavours to present the universal principles underlying its inception and development; to indicate the racial sources from which its component parts were drawn; and to show that the observances and beliefs which constituted its worship and creed were the natural reflection of the highly composite national temperament of classical Greece.]

From Messrs. LONGMANS, GREEN, & Co., 39 Paternoster Row, London.

For Faith and Science, by F. H. Woods, B.D. 3s. 6d. net.

[The object of this essay is not polemical. It is to reassure believers. The author proposes and seeks to answer three questions: What is the belief of a well-instructed Christian believer? What are the actual causes which have produced that belief? What influence is science exercising upon that belief? He seeks to avoid as far as possible all technical terms, especially those of a theological character.]

The Mission of the Holy Ghost, by G. H. S. Walpole, D.D.
2s. net.

[The substance of lectures delivered to members of the St. Paul's Lecture Society in 1905.]

From Messrs. MACMILLAN & Co., London.

Bishop Westcott's Teaching: The Secret of a Great Influence,
by Mrs. Horace Porter. 1s. net.

[Deals with subjects under several headings: Bishop Westcott's Life-Work, his General Teaching, his views upon Foundation Truths, Bible Study, Church and Creed, and kindred topics.]

From THE CLARENDON PRESS, Oxford.

The Book of Job in the Revised Version, edited with Introductions and Brief Annotations by S. R. Driver, D.D.

[The author's aim is to explain the revised version of the Book of Job in such a manner as to make the poem intelligible to an ordinary educated reader. He seeks to remove the difficulties due to obscure expressions, unfamiliar customs, obsolete English words, and the perplexity of alternative renderings. This end is attained with a minimum of notes; by dividing the book into paragraphs, prefixing the argument to each, and by pointing out the reasons for preferring one alternative reading to another.]

From Messrs. OWEN & Co., 28 Regent Street, London.

Biblical Christianity, by Hermann Lüdemann, D.D., Professor
of Theology in the University of Bern. Translated by Maurice
A. Canny, M.A. 2s. net.

[Dr. Lüdemann discusses the attitude to be adopted by twentieth-century people towards dogmatic Christianity. His book is an answer to the question, What is Christianity? His attitude is that of Liberal Protestantism.]

From Messrs. WILLIAMS & NORGATE, 14 Henrietta Street, London, W.

Hebrew Religion, to the establishment of Judaism under Ezra,
by W. E. Addis, M.A. 4s. net.

[An attempt to provide the general reader with a clear statement of fact on the history of Hebrew religion down to the middle of the fifth century, B.C.]

Daniel and its Critics, being a Critical and Grammatical Commentary, by Rev. Charles H. H. Wright, D.D. 7s. 6d.

[Supplementary to the author's recently published book on *Daniel and his Prophecies*.

It is based to some extent upon lectures delivered by the author, in his capacity as Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint, at Oxford in 1893-97. The character of the work is largely defensive.]

PROSPECTUS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF BIBLICAL SUBJECTS.

GENERAL OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

1.—To bring the members of the Society into direct relations with the leaders of thought.

2.—To provide advanced students, lay or clerical, but especially ministers, and missionaries in active work, with systematic and scientific courses of study.

3.—To arrange less advanced courses of study for Christian workers, young students, young business men and women. Also—

- (i) To help in the selection of the best type of books.
- (ii) To accustom members to the scientific method of inquiry.
- (iii) To point the relation of Biblical truth to science, to literature, to practical affairs, and to the civilised and uncivilised communities of the world.

4.—To render special assistance to isolated members whether they rank as more advanced or less advanced students.

5.—To have a Journal like other scientific Societies so that members may have the latest phases of thought on particular questions, and grasp the problems of the times. The INTERPRETER has been suggested, and the Editor has kindly offered to co-operate.

6.—To have as the chief aim of the Society the strengthening of Christian faith and character.

PROPOSED BYE-LAWS.

- 1.—The Society shall be known as the "Society for the Study of Biblical Subjects".

Objects of the Society.

2.—The objects of the Society are the encouragement and advancement of the sphere of learning associated with the Sacred Scriptures and the great departments of knowledge more or less in immediate relation thereto, *e.g.*—

Systematic Theology.	Biblical Criticism.
Biblical Theology.	Assyriology.
Comparative Theology.	Egyptology.
Hebrew.	Palæography.
Septuagint.	Christian and Jewish Archæology.
Greek New Testament.	Church History.

The furtherance of the objects of the Society by

- (i) The issue of a Journal (and other printed publications) under the sanction of the Society.

In view of the representative character of the Society the Journal is not to be confined to one School of Christian thought.

- (ii) An Annual Conference for the opportunity of mutual intercourse, the announcement of the latest results in research work, etc.
- (iii) For advanced students arrangements for a systematic and scientific course of Biblical and theological reading (including seminars). In the first instance the correspondence system would be adopted. Special fees would be charged.
- (iv) For less advanced students the formation of a Bible Study Guild with periodical local gatherings for friendly discussion, inquiries, etc., etc. Special guidance shall be given by the Society by the issue of leaflets, etc., to members.
- (v) Courses of study for members requiring specific training, *e.g.*, missionary students desiring assistance in Oriental languages. Special fees.
- (vi) Other subsidiary means of usefulness as the Council of the Society may decide upon, *e.g.*, vacation lectures at recognised Colleges, suggestions as to selection of books, access to libraries, issue of bibliographies, special lectures for local centres.

Representatives of Colleges and Universities.

3.—The Professors of the Universities, Tutors, and other leading Scholars who teach in the departments of knowledge referred to above, shall be invited to become Representatives.

Officers of the Society.

4.—The Officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, the two Honorary Secretaries, and the Editorial Secretary.

Council of the Society.

5.—The Council of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, the two Honorary Secretaries, and thirty Councillors chosen from among and by the vote of the Representatives of the Colleges and the Universities. Additional Councillors, but not more than ten, shall be nominated from among the ordinary members of the Society.

Membership.

6.—Membership shall be unlimited, and open to ladies as well as gentlemen.

Annual Subscription.

7.—The Annual Subscription shall be five shillings, including free delivery of the Journal of the Society and communications in connection with the Bible Study Guild at the residence of members. The subscription shall become payable on the 1st of in each year.

Should more than one member of a family residing at the same address desire to belong to the Society, the first member shall pay an annual subscription of five shillings, the second one shilling, and so on. In these cases only one copy of the Journal of the Society shall be forwarded to the address given, but each member shall receive the leaflets, etc., relating to the Bible Study Guild.

OTHER BYE-LAWS.

Powers of the Council.
Election of Officers annually.
Annual General Meeting.
Special General Meetings.
Notices, etc.

The various proposals set forth in this Scheme will only be gradually realised.

The scheme has already the sympathy and the general approval of the following Representatives of Universities and Colleges :—

1. Rev. W. C. Allen, M.A., Examiner in Sacra Theologia, Oxford.
2. Rev. W. Emery Barnes, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
3. Rev. L. J. M. Bebb, M.A., D.D., Principal of Lampeter College.
4. Rev. Canon C. Bigg, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Oxford.
5. Rev. R. H. Charles, M.A., Professor of Biblical Greek, Dublin.
6. Rev. Canon Cheyne, D.Litt., D.D., F.B.A., Oriel Professor of Divinity, Oxford.
7. T. Witton Davies, B.A., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages, University College of North Wales.
8. Rev. W. T. Davison, M.A., D.D., Richmond College.
9. Rev. Canon Driver, D.D., D.Litt., F.B.A., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.
10. Rev. A. M. Fairbairn, D.D., F.B.A., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford.
11. Rev. G. Fletcher, Principal of Richmond College.
12. Rev. P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D., Principal of Hackney College.
13. P. Gardner, M.A., Litt.D., Lincoln Professor of Archæology, Oxford.
14. Rev. H. Gee, D.D., Master of University College, Durham.
15. Rev. J. Gilroy, B.D., Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages, Aberdeen.
16. Rev. G. P. Gould, M.A., Principal of Regent's Park College, N.W.
17. E. Tyrrell Green, M.A., Professor of Hebrew and Theology, St. David's College, Lampeter.
18. Rev. A. W. Greenup, D.D., Principal of St. John's Hall, Highbury.
19. Rev. H. M. Gwatkin, M.A., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Cambridge.
20. Rev. J. Herkless, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of St. Andrews.
21. H. W. Hogg, M.A., Professor of Semitic Languages, University of Manchester.
22. M. R. James, Litt.D., Provost of King's College, Cambridge.
23. F. B. Jevons, D.Litt., Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham.
24. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., Professor of Assyriology, University of London.
25. Rev. Hewlett Johnson, B.A., B.Sc., Editor of the *Interpreter*.
26. Rev. D. M. Kay, B.D., Professor of Oriental Languages, St. Andrews.
27. Rev. Canon R. H. Kennett, M.A., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Queens' College, Cambridge.
28. Rev. B. J. Kidd, B.D., Examiner in Sacra Theologia.
29. Rev. Canon W. Lock, D.D., Ireland Professor of Exegesis, Oxford.
30. N. McLean, M.A., Professor of Aramaic, Christ's College, Cambridge.
31. Rev. Allan Menzies, D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism, St. Andrews.
32. Rev. Canon R. L. Ottley, D.D., Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology, Oxford.
33. Rev. J. Patrick, D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism, University of Edinburgh.
34. A. S. Peake, M.A., Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis, University of Manchester.
35. Wm. M. Ramsay, M.A., D.C.L., Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen.
36. Rev. H. M. B. Reid, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Glasgow.
37. Rev. J. Robertson, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Semitic Languages, Glasgow.
38. Rev. Canon Sanday, D.D., D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Oxford.
39. Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., LL.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford.

- 40. Rev. J. Paterson Smyth, B.D., Litt.D., Professor of Pastoral Theology, Dublin.
- 41. Rev. H. B. Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
- 42. Rev. D. Walker, D.D., Theological Tutor, Durham.
- 43. Rev. H. J. White, M.A., Examiner in Sacra Theologia, Oxford, and King's College, London.
- 44. J. Hudson Williams, Professor of Greek, University College of North Wales.
- 45. Right Rev. F. H. Chase, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ely.

Communications should be addressed to:—

<p>A. F. SHUTES, "Rostock," Sutton Road, Muswell Hill, N., Honorary Secretaries (<i>pro tem.</i>).</p>	<p>F. C. COOK, 35 Donovan Avenue, Muswell Hill, N., Honorary Secretaries (<i>pro tem.</i>).</p>
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THE INTERPRETER.

Contributors.

Among others the following have consented to contribute:—

- The RT. REV. HERBERT RYLE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester.
- The REV. W. F. ADENEY, D.D., Principal of Lancashire College, Manchester.
- The REV. W. C. ALLEN, M.A., Hebrew Lecturer, Exeter College, Oxford.
- The REV. W. EMERY BARNES, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
- The REV. C. F. BURNEY, D.D., Hebrew Lecturer, St. John's College, Oxford.
- The REV. CANON DRIVER, D.D. Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.
- The REV. A. M. FAIRBAIRN, LL.D. Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford.
- The REV. F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON, B.D., Dean of Jesus College, Cambridge.
- The REV. P. T. FORSYTH, D.D., Principal of Hackney College, London.
- The REV. A. C. HEADLAM, D.D., Principal of King's College, London.
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THE INTERPRETER

A Quarterly Magazine of Biblical and Theological Study.

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JANUARY, 1907.

No. 2.

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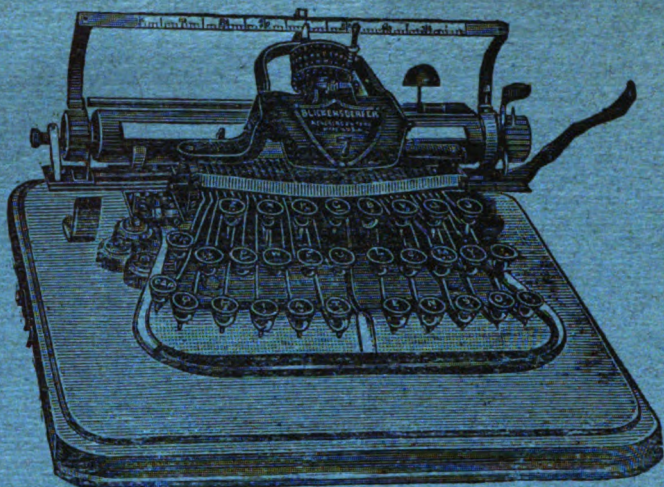
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Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things?

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VOL. III.

JANUARY, 1907.

No. 2.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The Editor greatly regrets that he is not able to insert his usual notes in the January issue of the INTERPRETER. His sudden illness within a week of going to press, following upon his wife's long and serious illness, has entirely prevented him from preparing his customary notices of current theological literature in time for the printer.

It is with pleasure that we announce on behalf of the *Society for the Study of Biblical Subjects*¹ that the following have kindly consented to serve on the provisional committee:—

The Rev. Willoughby C. Allen, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

Professor F. C. Burkitt, M.A., F.B.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

F. B. Jevons, D.Litt., Principal of Hatfield Hall, Durham.

Rev. Allan Menzies, D.D., Professor of Biblical Criticism, St. Andrews.

Professor A. S. Peake, M.A., Dean of the Faculty of Theology, Manchester University.

Further particulars may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Mr. F. C. Cook, 35 Donovan Avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N.

¹ See pp. 221-224.

POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE THEOLOGY AND SCIENCE OF THE PRESENT DAY.

REV. F. R. TENNANT, D.D., B.Sc.

(Continued from page 41.)

II.

I propose in this article to describe the present state of scientific knowledge or theory with regard to some of the various questions in which theology, in common with natural science, has an interest or concern ; and to sketch the bearings of the results of scientific research and thought, with respect to such points, upon theological doctrine.

Before thus dealing with points of contact between theology and science, it will be necessary to rule out of consideration several interesting and important subjects which have frequently been regarded as cases of conflict between science and theology, but which rather belong to the ground common to theology and philosophy or metaphysics.

It is advisable, indeed, at the outset, to define clearly the boundaries of the territory belonging to science proper and to estimate the limits of the sphere within which scientific methods and generalisations are valid. For the authority of natural science receives in our generation an almost unbounded respect, which is due to it partly on account of the brilliant success of scientific investigations in enlarging our knowledge of Nature and applying it to practical uses, and partly because of the solid unanimity with which the bulk of scientific doctrine is received. A theological belief or dogma convicted of incompatibility with natural science is to-day accounted worthy of no acceptance, and, indeed, stands self-condemned. Now for this reason we must be the more careful to scrutinise what is presented to us in the name of

science, lest we inadvertently allow the extension of its imprimatur to elements of metaphysic lurking within what profess to be the deliverances of empirical science : elements which have no right at all to the authoritativeness of scientific verity and yet which are, perhaps, precisely the points that theology finds itself unwilling or unable to accept and assimilate. Science is at least not identical with naturalism, though naturalism has commended itself as a plausible system of philosophy to a considerable number of scientific students.

I will risk being considered to digress from my proper subject before I have really entered upon it, by going on to point out that there are two kinds of metaphysical elements which supply the anti-theistic sting to what commonly pass for pronouncements of science. The fact that even the foremost among scientific teachers very frequently fail to recognise these elements as alien to their own special department of thought, and make statements in the name of science that involve them, lays upon us the greater responsibility to discriminate them and bring them to the light.

In the first place, then, science, like ordinary common-sense thought about the external world, inevitably expresses itself in terms which involve metaphysical assumptions. It is not the business of science to inquire into the nature of ultimate reality, to raise the question of how we come to know it, of whether or not we subjects contribute any elements to that systematised mass of experience which we call the world. Science very naturally takes over from unreflective common-sense that view of such matters which grow up with the human race, and proceeds with her practical work from that standpoint. Now the plain man, who generally reviles metaphysic, is really by no means innocent of metaphysic ; he can open his mouth on but few subjects of importance without uttering metaphysic. Only, he is unconscious of it ; and so, too, is science, when, like the ordinary common-sense man, she speaks of Nature or the cosmos as wholly objective : as existing, that is, exactly as we know it, independently of the experience, the sensation and thought, of all

human percipients or subjects. So long as science is pursuing her own work of enlarging and systematising our knowledge of Nature, it makes no difference at all to the success of her methods or to the value of her results, whether the metaphysics which she has taken over from uncritical common-sense is good or bad, true or false. Her pronouncements, *quâ* scientific, are not affected. But when her pronouncements and generalisations are brought to bear upon problems of a philosophical nature transcending the range of physical investigation, then obviously the elements of metaphysic which are *in* those results of science but not *of* them, which are only in them because they were implied in the very language and mode of thought which science adopted for expressing her results, must not be allowed to pass unchallenged; for they may just beg the very question which is at issue. For instance, the metaphysical assumption which I have adopted as an illustration, that, *viz.*, of the objectivity of the world, very easily enables science to describe the universe as a pure mechanism, a vast machine characterised by the reign of invariable law: a universe in which the minds that investigate it are themselves a product stumbled upon in the course of its evolution: a self-contained and self-maintaining world, independent of anything but itself for its origin, its meaning, its intelligibility. This view of Nature, which is that of naturalism, and which is quite incompatible with Christian theology or theism, has commended itself to many students of science; it has been said even by one who is a theist to represent the "trend and temper" of modern orthodox science. It is obvious, however, that its truth stands or falls with the validity of the presupposition on which it rests, which is not a fact of science but a metaphysical assumption; an assumption, moreover, which, before it can be serviceable against theology, must justify itself at the bar of philosophical criticism.

And again; just as we cannot accept as part of science, and invest with the authority of science, the crude metaphysical assumptions which science takes over from common-sense and is not concerned to examine, so, too, we cannot accept, in the name of science, those postulates which render her work possible, or

those generalisations at which she arrives by induction from observed facts, as if they possessed any validity outside the sphere of science or any application beyond the realm of observation and experience. We cannot allow them to pass for absolute and necessary truths. They may be valid as descriptions of Nature from that particular point of view, and for that particular purpose, with which science pursues her study of the world ; but we must remember that the method of science is very abstract and leaves altogether out of account much that the philosopher, regarding experience in its entirety, would deem of first importance. The laws and formulæ of science are not necessarily 'the only ones in terms of which Nature admits of being described, though they may be the ones which alone suit the purposes of science, namely calculation and prediction. Their practical utility is no guarantee of their absolute necessity or of their applicability to ultimate reality. Yet it is chiefly by converting the postulates and generalisations of empirical science into *a priori* or necessary and absolute metaphysical principles, that thinkers who are men of science in the first place and philosophers only in the second, have been able to represent science as a substitute for philosophy, and so opposed in trend and temper to the theological view of the world. It is only thus that we come to have the principle of the "persistence of force" offered in the stead of theism ; or to receive the prophecy that the encroaching tide of matter and the tightening grasp of law will ultimately banish all spirit and spontaneity as illusions from every region of human thought ; or to hear miracle asserted to be impossible, prayer futile, and immortality an absurd imagination. The whole fabric of naturalism, which is so often represented as securely based on physical science—that is to say, on verified experience and necessary influence therefrom, without admixture of any questionable assumptions whatever—really rests on a confusion of science with metaphysic ; a confounding of scientific laws and generalisations with ultimate and necessary truths and of conceptual symbols such as force, ether, atom, etc., with the reality which they were invented to describe.

So far, I have endeavoured to show that systems of thought or views of the universe such as naturalism, materialism (which nowadays also passes under the name of monism), agnosticism, and such-like theories, are not the deliverances or the outcome of pure science. This is not to have proved any one of such systems to be false; I only contend that they stand on their own merits as metaphysical or philosophical systems, and repudiate entirely the claim frequently made for them that they are invested with the authority of science—which means verified and ever verifiable matter of actual experience, together with logically necessary inference from observed fact. With these cautions that we are to be concerned only with the teachings of science proper, and not at all with the metaphysical elements often read into it, I now pass to what is more directly or positively involved in the title of this article: to the consideration of questions of theological importance as to which science has, or conceivably might have, something to say, some relevant facts to adduce.

I. The Being of God.

We may begin with the fundamental idea of the Being of God, with regard to which few words will suffice.

Physical science presents us with no *facts* which directly prove or disprove the existence of God. Attempts, however, have been made at both a positive and a negative demonstration. Science, for instance, tells us that the “energy” of the universe—the various forms of which are popularly spoken of as “the forces of Nature”—as it passes through its various transformations, becomes, while remaining the same in quantity, ever less available for doing what physicists call “work”. Just as water can be used to turn our mill-wheels or turbines so long as it runs from a higher to a lower level, but would be useless for such purposes if it were all contained in the ocean alone, so the physical energy of the universe, which is gradually tending to the form of heat, and that at a uniform temperature, will in some remote age be unable to go through any further changes of form. And, provided the universe be finite in extent—as to which

science cannot inform us—this principle of the dissipation of energy implies finite duration of the world, as we know it, in the past. Consequently, the order described by laws of Nature which hold good now, cannot be maintained for an indefinite past. This, however, is not a “scientific” proof that at some definite past time there was an absolute beginning of the world, explicable only by a creative act.

Nor, again, can science now accept the reasoning by which the late Professor Clark Maxwell sought to prove the action of creative power and a definite beginning of the world. This great physicist held it to be a solid result of science that the atoms, of which the world is composed, had been made, and that by no process which we call natural. The argument would require to be wholly restated in the light of recent advances in scientific discovery; but even then it would only suffice to confirm belief in one source for the elements into which science resolves the world, assuming them to be real, and not to prove a first cause.

On the other hand the facts of science are certainly not incompatible with theistic belief. Science does not reveal to us that the world made itself or that it is eternal. Science indeed has nothing to do with origins and ultimate explanation. It is, with all deference to Sir Oliver Lodge, not science at all which suggests to us that the cosmos is self-explanatory and self-contained; for as science confessedly does not, and cannot, begin at the beginning, she offers no ultimate explanation of the world at all.

Nor must we conclude that because science, in her account of the course of Nature, dispenses with and has no need for the concept of God, she is therefore atheistic. She is indifferent to theism. Her method of procedure and her results would be the same whether the ultimate solution of the world-problem were that of theism or of pantheism or of atheism. The special sciences do not require the use of the concept of God; they would be ruined, as sciences, if they did. For their business is to give *relative* explanations of phenomena by tracing them back to other

phenomena as their causes or conditions. If such causes or conditions are in any case for the present undiscoverable, science does not call in a *Deus ex machina* to bridge the gap, but simply works and waits. To appeal to the supernatural would be to renounce scientific explanation. But because science does not require, for her purposes, to postulate, and her results do not serve to demonstrate, a God behind Nature, it by no means follows that He is not there. The whole question is irrelevant to science and outside her sphere.

It may be said, however, that though the several sciences can successfully prosecute their work without recourse to the idea of divine activity, there are many questions raised in the mind of the philosopher by science as a whole, which, the theist contends, are only satisfactorily answerable on the assumption of the existence of God. To take up these questions would be to cross the border from science to philosophy, and therefore to exceed the limits of this article. But I may conclude this subject by saying that if the universe which science has so successfully explored, the causation which she traces through it, the unity, regularity and harmony which she increasingly discovers in it; if these are to receive that sufficient explanation which science admittedly cannot give, but the human intellect craves; then there is much in the body of knowledge which science has furnished, to suggest that such an explanation is offered only by postulating One Infinite Mind and Will, in whom all things consist.

II. The Doctrine of Creation.

After what has been said with regard to the bearings of science on the Being of God, it will scarcely be necessary to add much with regard to the theological doctrine of creation. Science, of course, knows nothing as to the ultimate origin of this universe. As Professor Tyndall acknowledged long ago, the doctrine of evolution does not solve or profess to solve this mystery. But the theory of evolution, in its wider form, does profess to tell us how the world, since its origin, has come to be

what it now is. Science has revealed beyond any doubt that the world and the things in it have been much longer in the making than formerly they were commonly believed to have been, and that they have only attained to their present forms by a series of gradual changes. In this respect science has in nowise made it harder to believe that Nature is the work of God; but, in tracing the connexion between its parts, she has helped us to understand something of the mode in which the Creator has worked, and of the stages by which He has accomplished His design. The idea of the special or immediate creation of the world as it now is and of the various species which inhabit it, has, of course, necessarily been abandoned. But this idea, though perhaps implied in the cosmogony of the Bible, is not essential to Christian theology. Not only did Fathers and Schoolmen, with Genesis before them, sometimes reject it or suspend their judgment with regard to it, but most thoughtful Christians at the present day feel that its replacement by the doctrine of organic evolution is a positive gain to theology.

III. The Origin of Man.

A difficulty, however, is still felt in some quarters with regard to the origin of man. It is generally admitted that the evidence for the evolution of man's bodily nature from a lower animal form is as complete and as convincing as in the case of any other species; nor does the humble origin which science thus assigns to him detract in any way from his dignity or his lordship over Nature. But what of his soul? That spirit or mind, even in its lowliest form, is a property or product of matter, is a proposition which science cannot prove, and one which most of the representatives of science confess to be a statement of impossibility. As such a doctrine would involve the metaphysics of materialism, I may add that there are extremely few philosophers nowadays who would regard it as other than absurd. But, granting that mind is not evolved out of matter, it is possible, in virtue of the close interdependence of body and mind, that increased complexity of what we may call the organs of

sensibility and thought throughout the animal kingdom has been accompanied by a gradual increase in the complexity of mental faculties, and that this increase in complexity has been a matter of natural development and not a series of special creations. In this sense, possibly, we may speak of evolution of mind, and regard the superiority of the human mind as having been thus attained. This would be to use the term evolution in a sense different from that which it bears when applied to the mode of production of species, but such usage would be legitimate and intelligible. Moreover, the gradations in mental complexity, as we pass up the animal series, are so fine, that science strongly suggests some such view. Nevertheless the whole science of comparative psychology is in so rudimentary a state that at present the process of mental evolution cannot be described with any accuracy or in any detail. But, with the actual fact of mental evolution of a kind always before us in the transition of the human infant, without volition, reason or conscience, into the man, who possesses them all, it is conceivable that the evolution of mind in the race, and indeed throughout the animal kingdom, is an analogous process. Some day, perhaps, science will throw much more light upon this as yet very obscure subject, and make it more plain that man, even as a rational, moral and immortal being, is no "special creation," but has been created by a process of evolution.

And if this should be the case, no difficulty need arise for theology. Man is still man, and bears the image of his Maker, and is capable of religious communion with Him, whatever he came from, and whatever the means and stages through which he has attained his present condition. That all mind—all souls—are ultimately derived from God is sufficient for theology; and science can never deny this belief, even if she should succeed, by further study of God's works, in revealing the processes by which souls come to be and to be such as they are.

IV. The Moral Faculty: the Evolutionary View of Sin.

If man be thus wholly evolved from a lower form; if his moral faculty, his conscience, his capacity for religion, be not

supernatural endowments or special creations, but possessions acquired by slow degrees and natural processes, it is obvious that theology is called upon to abandon the doctrine that man was from the first at once moral and innocent, that sin commenced in an abrupt plunge from conscious righteousness and communion with God into a state of revolt against God's known law. As science has in the past obliged us to abandon the cosmology of Genesis, so also, it is the predominant opinion, must we give up the anthropology, as of similar origin and nature, and similarly inconsistent with the results of modern research. It is as yet doubtful how far and in what sense the theory of evolution is applicable to man's mental and moral faculties; and therefore all speculation based upon it, and all accommodation of theological doctrine to it, must be as yet provisional and tentative. But if we bear this in mind, no harm will be done by examining even now the bearings upon Christian doctrine, of those views as to man's primitive state, which are gaining ground in scientific circles. On the other hand, it would be very unwise and unsafe to assume at this stage, without full examination, that the newer ideas cannot be assimilated by the Christian without his doing violence to his creed. I propose, therefore, to sketch briefly the outlines of an evolutionary doctrine of sin which seems to myself to be perfectly compatible with fundamental Christian dogmas and presuppositions.

As man emerged as a new species in the course of organic evolution, he would bring with him the natural and essential instincts and impulses of his animal ancestors. The gratification of these would as yet know no restraining law. There would be a period, therefore, in the history of the race, as there certainly is, we are told by psychologists, in that of the individual man, in which voluntary actions were performed without any consciousness of right and wrong, without knowledge of any moral code whatever. We cannot call the actions of men at this time moral; we cannot speak of sin; though doubtless many of the deeds of the earliest human beings were such that *for us* they would be distinctly sinful. A period would next be reached during which

moral sentiment was gradually evoked and developed, and moral codes and sanctions, of rudimentary type, were gradually constructed by human society. Acts which once knew no law would now begin to be regarded as wrong; and the performance of them would constitute sin. The earliest sanctions known to the race were but crudely ethical, and their crudity was but gradually exchanged for the refinement characteristic of highly developed morality. Similarly the sense of guiltiness, in the primitive sinner as in the child of very tender years, would at first be relatively slight, and would increase *pari passu* with the holiness and severity of the ethical code.

Such is the view of the origin of sin in the human race which evolution suggests; and I do not see that if it should some day pass from a provisional hypothesis into a well-grounded theory or even a description of established facts, the Christian consciousness would find anything objectionable in it.

It will already be obvious, however, that such a theory of man's primitive estate and of the origin of his sinfulness would call for a revision of the ecclesiastical doctrine of Original Sin. This subject forms one of the points of contact between theology and science at the present time, and the bearings of scientific fact and theory upon it may therefore be mentioned.

Besides the conjectures which science suggests as to the origin of sin in the race, we are called upon to consider the more solid results of investigations in connexion with heredity and the empirical science of child-psychology.

The points which are relevant to the doctrine of Original Sin are as follows: 1. The dislocation of man's whole moral and spiritual nature, whether in the weakening of his will or the abnormal intensification of the strength of his carnal desires, instincts and appetites, such as the traditional doctrine implies, by an act of sin or even a course of sinfulness, is an alleged fact for which observation and experience can find no analogy. 2. Even if such a disorganisation of human nature by an act of sin were possible, there is no evidence that it could be transmitted by inheritance to posterity. The question of the inheritance of ac-

quired character is not closed ; but it may safely be said that no proven instance of this kind of heredity has yet been found, though diligent search has been made, and that the mechanism by which such transmission could be effected is, in the present state of biological knowledge, entirely inconceivable. 3. There is no reason to believe that the inherited instincts, self-assertive tendencies, impulses, appetites and passions in the human infant are abnormal, as the theory of "an inherited corruption of nature" requires ; if man's ancestry be what science now claims to have proved it to be, so far as the physical side of our nature is concerned, the human being comes into the world biologically normal, and his inherited tendencies are necessary to life and health.

In the light of these difficulties which science urges against the traditional doctrine of Original Sin, some revision of it would seem to be called for. The inherited tendencies of the stock are still to be regarded as one of the chief sources of sinful conduct, and may, in a sense, be called "original sin" ; but science requires us not to affirm them to be consequences of sin committed by the first human beings, and ethics, I believe, cannot justify their being called "sin" in the sense that they involve guilt. In this case all sin would be actual ; and indeed it seems to me to be a contradiction in terms to speak of sin where there is as yet no conscience and no knowledge of moral sanctions. Sin would begin, in the child as in the race, where moral sentiment emerges, which is not present at the first. What is "original" or "inherited" is thus not in any strict sense to be called "sin," but rather the material out of which the lawless activity of the will in time universally constitutes sin. Finally, it should be observed that this new view of the origin and mode of propagation of sin does not do any violence to the Christian conception of sin in general ; it teaches that there are degrees of guilt, but it makes every conscious transgression of a known moral sanction guilty in some degree ; and it recognises the universality of sin throughout the human race as clearly as did the older view, if its explanation of the fact is not at first so obvious.

(To be concluded.)

ISRAEL AND BABYLON.

REV. CANON FOAKES-JACKSON, D.D., Dean of Jesus College, Cambridge.

(Continued from page 69.)

ARTICLE II.

No one can approach this subject without feeling that he is on debatable ground, affording an extremely uncertain footing. The true description of the position seems to be that we have a number of facts which it is by no means easy to bring together. "Bibel und Babel" present far more similarities than points of contact. It is easy to notice that Gen. i. 2 and the Creation Tablets are similar: it is very hard to say what one owes to the other. The cuneiform letters of Tel el Amarna are proofs that Babylonian influence was once strong in Palestine, but how this came to pass is a matter of great uncertainty. All that we actually know is that Israel was brought into contact with the Assyrians (whose civilisation was borrowed from Babylonia) in the ninth century B.C., that in the eighth century Palestine became a province of the Assyrian Empire till the fall of Nineveh in the seventh century, and that in the sixth century Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, carried the Jews captive to that city, which subsequently fell before Cyrus the Persian. An alliance with Berodach Baladan, King of Babylon, in the days of Hezekiah against Sargon or Sennacherib is the first proof we have of any direct intercourse between the Babylonians and the Hebrews. In the present paper we have to encounter certain facts and theories deduced from them; and it is necessary first to deal with whatever definite information we may possess. Let us therefore consider very briefly the subject of Babylonia and its connexion with Palestine.

BABYLONIA AND PALESTINE.

Civilisation begins where the means of communication enable men to interchange commodities, and water is the chief uniting bond between distant places, a ship being the easiest and simplest

machine for carrying goods in bulk. Consequently the earliest homes of civilisation are found on the banks of great rivers. The arts of life flourished almost simultaneously by the great waterways of Asia and along the Nile. The rivers of Mesopotamia, India, China, Egypt witnessed the first beginnings of civilised life. One of the most venerable homes of ordered human life was Erech or Ur, now on the Euphrates, once perhaps on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Long before historic times the arts flourished, a system of writing was in use, men married and gave in marriage, bought and sold, and lived their lives much as they have been used to do since. Gradually along the river more cities were built, and very early the plain between the Euphrates and Tigris was the scene of busy life and comparatively advanced civilisation. Here the later Hebrews believed was the original home of their ancestors, who had gone forth as wanderers in obedience to Divine command and had ultimately reached Canaan. They considered that this distant land was the cradle of the human race, and in their account of the origin of the world and mankind in Gen. i.-xi., the centre of interest is unquestionably Shinar and Babylonia. The question which we have to decide is the character of the intercourse between Palestine and Babylonia. The Bible affords us but little help. In Genesis xiv. we have the story of the invasion by Chedorlaomer and his allies; and in Joshua Achan's sin was that he secreted a Babylonish garment when the spoils of Jericho were destroyed (Josh. vii. 21). Beyond this there is no early reference to a connexion between Palestine and the country beyond the Euphrates. But modern research has abundantly proved that there was a very close connexion between these two distant lands, that for a long time Palestine was a dependency of the ruling monarchs of the land of Shinar, and that its civilisation was in a great measure Babylonian.

The date of the earliest connexion between Babylonia and Palestine may be as early as B.C. 3800. According to an inscription of Nabonidus discovered at Sippar in 1881, Sargon reigned at this remote period. His son Naram-Sin extended his

rule across the sea to Cyprus. At any rate the Babylonians had, thirty centuries before Christ, realised the importance of occupying the Mediterranean sea-board. How extensive was their commerce is seen in the inscription of the viceroy Gudêa, B.C. 2600, who erected a temple to Nin-gir-su. He sent to Amanum (probably Mount Taurus) for cedars, to the mount of Martu (Palestine) for stone. He mentions two seas—"the upper," the Mediterranean; "the lower," the Persian Gulf. Gudêa alludes to only one military expedition, and it seems clear that the materials for his temple were obtained by exchange or purchase. "Strong hands," it has been truly observed, "must have held the reins of government for many generations before the distant tribes, through whose territory Gudêa's treasures passed, learned to respect the right of traders" (Paton, *Syria and Palestine*, p. 21).

A king named Dungi, the first to assume the famous title of the Babylonian overlords, "the King of the Four Quarters," alludes to victories in Syria, and his empire must have extended as far westward as that of Sargon and Naram-Sin. Two later kings, Bur-Sin and Gamil-Sin, testify to the hold which Babylonia had upon Western Asia.

"Our survey," says Dr. Paton, "of the earliest monuments of Babylonia makes it clear that from at least B.C. 3000 to 2500 Syria, and probably Palestine also, stood under the rule of Babylonian monarchs. Politically as well as ethnologically they formed an integral part of the ancient Babylonian world. Whichever city held the hegemony on the Euphrates assumed as a matter of course the government of the West."

CHEDORLAOMER AND AMRAPHEL.

I feel considerable reluctance in doing no more than allude to that extraordinary chapter in Genesis (xiv.) about the invasion of Palestine by Chedorlaomer and his allies, Amraphel, Arioch and Tidal. There is only one point on which critics are in agreement, and that is the unique character of this section, which is not assignable to any of the other sources of the Book of Genesis. But whether we have in Genesis xiv. a fragment of extreme antiquity, an invaluable picture of Palestine in early patriarchal times, or a comparatively modern document, is completely undecided.

Equally uncertain is that which has been so positively asserted, namely, that Amraphel is to be identified with the great legislator Hammurabi, of whom we shall have more to say hereafter.

What is really of importance to us is to remember that whereas in former days the critic was disposed to declare that the whole idea of an invasion of Babylonia in the days of Abraham must be scouted as absurd, and that the legend of the capture of Lot and his deliverance by the patriarch was destitute of all historical foundation, it is now abundantly proved that the connexion between Babylonia and the land of Canaan was very close, and that the incident recorded in Genesis is by no means exceptional. The historical character of Chedorlaomer's invasion cannot be impugned any longer on *a priori* grounds as to what once seemed probable to the uninformed reader of Genesis.

ABRAHAM A BABYLONIAN.

Another curious misapprehension of the character of Abraham may perhaps be disposed of if we remember that he was an immigrant from Babylonia. I believe it was Dean Stanley who some years ago gave much offence by styling Abraham "an Arab Sheik"; but recently I came across a far stranger description of him in the "Cambridge Theological Essays". I quote the passage in full because it appears to me to be as misleading as it is rhetorical:—

"We judge Abraham, then, by his own age and not by later times; but judged by his own age what a splendid figure he is! This half-savage man journeying to and fro in a land which knew no law but force, a stranger with no hold on life except by the sword of his servants and no foothold in the land except a burial-place bought from the Hittites, bought when towards the end of his days the inhabitants had learned to respect the increase of his strength, this half-savage man learned to look forward to the fulfilment of God's promises, and upwards to God as his protector."

The date of Abraham is almost impossible to decide, but if he came from Babylonia he is not likely to have been the half-savage man he appears to the fancy of the above writer. The dignified figure of the just and upright patriarch we think of

when we read the account of him in Genesis seems to be a more probable portraiture of the Father of the Faithful. A Babylonian would leave an ancient and well-ordered civilisation, a land where law was known and respected, cities teeming with commercial activity, libraries stored with the wisdom of ages. If, as is not impossible, Abraham abandoned the cities of Shinar to become a nomad, a wanderer, a man without home or country at the Divine command, he was no half-savage man but a member of one of the great civilisations of the world, who voluntarily gave up all that life offered that he might obey the dictates of his conscience and live closer to God.

THE TEL EL AMARNA TABLETS.

The early history of Palestine is a matter of conjecture, but in 1888 the discovery of the famous Tel el Amarna correspondence furnished proof of the abiding influence which Babylonia had had upon the country.

The discoveries at Tel el Amarna, the buried city of the Egyptian Kings Amenhotep III. and IV., include a large number of tablets containing the correspondence between the subject princes of Palestine and the Pharaohs. The country had been dependent upon Egypt for about a century; nevertheless the letters are in the cuneiform script, showing that the culture of Palestine in the fifteenth and fourteenth century B.C. was Babylonian rather than Egyptian. Into the contents of these letters it is not necessary for us to go; but one of them proves that not only did the inhabitants of Canaan preserve the civilisation of Babylonia, but they looked to their former masters for help against the Egyptians. Burnaburiash, King of Babylon, informs Amenhotep IV. :—

“In the time of my father the Canaanites unitedly wrote to him, ‘Against the border of the land we will march and make an insurrection. With thee we will make an alliance.’ My father wrote them as follows: ‘Seek no alliance with me. If you are hostile to the King of Egypt, my brother, and make an alliance with one another, I will surely come and plunder you for he is in alliance with me.’ My father for the sake of your father would not listen to them.”

It does not seem that the Israelites effected their settlement in the land till long after the Tel el Amarna letters; and but for the single allusion to an invasion by Cushanrishathaim, King of Mesopotamia, in the Book of Judges we have no notices of any connexion between Palestine and the East for many centuries. All that we have up to now established is that Canaan owed much to Babylonian civilisation.

THE CODES OF HAMMURABI.

We now therefore have leisure to consider the similarities between the Babylonians and the Israelites, and first we may take their codes of law.

It was only in 1901-02 that we became aware that the laws of Babylonia had been reduced to a code about B.C. 2250. This in itself implies that for ages there had been a system of law and custom regularly administered in the country. The laws are beautifully carved on a huge block of diorite discovered among the ruins of the acropolis of Susa by M. de Morgan and Father Scheil. There are no less than 282 paragraphs of laws perfectly legible to any one who is acquainted with the script, an antique form of the cuneiform to which scholars are accustomed. The upper portion of the block bears a representation of the sun-god Šamaš seated upon a raised throne. The King (Hammurabi) stands before him in an attitude of reverent obedience. Šamaš is the god of law, the father of righteousness and justice. The code is divided into three portions. (1) The prologue is devoted to the titles and good deeds of Hammurabi, commencing with the statement that Bel is lord of heaven and earth, who has entrusted mankind to Marduk, and called Hammurabi to create justice in the land. Like the kings of Israel Hammurabi is styled "the shepherd"; his acts of mercy and liberality are celebrated; (2) then follow the laws in different sections; and finally (3) the epilogue with these words, "I am the safety-bringing shepherd whose sceptre is upright, . . . on my breast I cherish the people of Sumer and Accad, in my protection I have let them rest in peace, in my wisdom they are concealed that the strong may not oppress the feeble, to give safety to the orphan and widow; . . . for the healing of hurts, my precious words I have written

upon my stele and set them up before my image as King of Uprightness. The oppressed man who has a suit may come before the image of the King of Justice and may read the inscription and hear precious words. The stele will make clear to him his suit, he will understand his cause and his heart will rejoice, saying, 'Hammurabi is a lord who is literally a father of his people'." The epilogue ends in a way that reminds us of the Book of Deuteronomy with a series of blessings on those who observe the laws and one of curses on those who disregard them: the curses being given at far greater length than the blessings.

LAWS OF HAMMURABI AND MOSES COMPARED.

Before approaching the subject of the laws it is important to bear in mind the very wise words of Mr. Stanley Arthur Cook in regard to them. There is a tendency to use all the information we are acquiring about Babylonia for the purpose of discrediting the Old Testament. This is characteristic of Delitzsch's second lecture on "Babel und Bibel," wherein he tries to show the superiority of the Babylonian civilisation and morality to that of Israel. The fact is, however, that owing to a variety of causes a civilisation had sprung up in Babylonia in the third millennium B.C., which has probably been seldom surpassed in the history of any Asiatic people, and that the Israelites never reached to anything approaching it even in their palmiest days.

"The tendency to exaggerate," says Mr. Cook, "the extent of foreign influence—which has occasionally gone to such a length as to derive the essential features of Israelite culture from outside—takes no account of historical experience. It is a familiar fact that many of the present customs of the East find parallels in pre-Islamic Arabia, in ancient Israel, even in Babylonia itself. In the study of primitive institutions the terms ancient and primitive are not correlative; that which is chronologically ancient is not therefore old from the point of view of comparative custom. Many Bedouin tribes are, sociologically, older than the earliest historically known Israelites, and the latter, in turn, even in the sixth century B.C., are far behind the Babylonians of the time of Hammurabi."

In contrasting the Hebrew code of Moses with that promulgated by Hammurabi, it must be borne in mind that the milder character of the latter in some respects is due to the fact that the Babylonians in B.C. 2250 lived under circumstances far more favourable to social progress than did the Israelites of the period between B.C. 1000 and B.C. 600.

There is a certain resemblance in the form of the laws of Hammurabi and those of Moses in their being both enacted with the hypothetical formula *if* or *when*, for example:—

Hammurabi. If a man either an ox or a sheep or . . . has stolen, etc.

Exodus. When a man steals ox or sheep, etc.

But the same feature is observed in the Syro-Roman lawbook which belongs to the fifth century A.D.

DISPARAGEMENT OF MOSAIC LAW UNJUST.

I am not at all sure, however, that the undoubted mildness and superior civilisation of the code of Hammurabi has not been somewhat exaggerated in order to disparage the Mosaic law. "Would any one," says Delitzsch, "have the temerity to assert that the thrice-holy God, who with His own fingers engraved on the tables of stone the words: 'Thou shalt not kill,' could in the very same breath have sanctioned blood revenge which to this day lies as a curse on the peoples of the East, especially as Hammurabi had already almost wholly eradicated all traces of it?" This would lead us to imagine that Hammurabi had, a full millennium before Moses, freed his people from an immemorial tradition of the East. But on turning to the laws one finds that this was by no means the case. I cannot forbear quoting once more a passage from Mr. Cook's *Laws of Moses and Code of Hammurabi* which effectually disposes of Dr. Delitzsch's utterance: "Although this tends to show that the Babylonians had reached the stage of penal law, and although we find that punishments were inflicted by the State, and private individuals only on the rarest occasions were allowed to avenge themselves, it is very necessary to observe that certain of the grosser features of the barbarous *jus talionis* were retained in all their crudeness. When it is remembered that the builder's son is made a victim for the

tenant's son (230), or the assailant's daughter dies to make atonement for the woman who has died of an assault, it is clear that the people among whom these practices prevailed were still a long way behind pure conceptions of justice. And it is interesting to find that the code in this respect is quite in agreement with the tenacious primitive Semitic theory of blood revenge. . . . Although this was the prevailing tendency of the early Israelite thought, it is a characteristic feature of the Book of the Covenant (the earliest code, Ex. 20-23) that it is only the actual manslayer who is put to death, and throughout the following centuries the ideal of personal responsibility was the prophetic ideal outstripping the practice of everyday life. The Deuteronomic code expressly says that the son is not to die for the father or the father for the son (Deut. xxiv. 16, *cf.* 2 Kings xiv. 6, Jer. xxxi. 30), and the climax is reached by Ezekiel who refuses to recognise either transmitted guilt or transmitted righteousness. The early restriction of the *talio* and the gradual restriction of responsibility give an ethical superiority to Israelite law which counterbalances whatever deficiencies it may possess in other respects."

There is no doubt, however, that the laws of Hammurabi are in many respects superior to those of Moses. There is more consideration for the debtor, the widow, the slave; for, where the Deuteronomic law appeals to the humanity of the people, Hammurabi lays down what the rights of the afflicted and oppressed actually are.

RITUAL OF BABYLON.

Besides the Babylonian laws, and it must be borne in mind that Hammurabi's code does not stand alone, we have, it may be remembered, an immense amount of evidence that the legends, literature and ritual of Babylonia afford striking parallels to those of the Hebrews. The narratives of the Creation, Paradise and the Flood in the Bible bear many affinities with the Chaldean poems on the subject. The famous creation tablets begin with words recalling the first words of Genesis :—

When aloft Heaven existed not,
When earth below had yet no being
But eldest Ocean the Sower of (the Gods)

And the dark deep who was to bear them all,
The waters of these mingled in union, and
No fields were embanked, no islands were seen.

Again the fifth tablet reminds us of Genesis i. 14-19:—

“He formed a station for the great gods: Stars like unto themselves the shining flock he stationed: He appointed the year, dividing it into seasons. The twelve months—three stars for each he stationed. From the day when the year sets out unto the end thereof.”

Over and over again we see in the sculptured slabs the sacred trees of Eden guarded by great winged figures like the Cherubim who kept the way of the tree of life after the Fall of Man.

“The cuneiform inscriptions,” says Professor Sayce, “have cleared up the geography of the Garden of Eden. The Sumerian name of the plan of Babylonia was Edin. . . . The seaport of primitive Chaldea was Eridu, the ‘good city,’ now Abu-Sharein, which stood near the mouth of the Euphrates. In its neighbourhood was a garden, a holy place wherein grew the sacred palm tree—the tree of life. . . . This tree is frequently described in Assyrian sculptures, where it is depicted with two guardian angels or cherubs kneeling or standing on either side of it. They are winged sometimes with the heads of eagles, sometimes of men.”

Here is the description of the end of the Flood from the Gilgamesh epic:—

But when the seventh day was come
I brought out a dove and let it go,
The dove went to and fro, but
Found no foothold and returned.

Then I brought out a swallow and let it go,
The swallow went to and fro, but
Found no foothold and returned,
Then I brought out a raven and let it go.

The raven went off noticing the drying of the water, and feeding, wading, croaking, returned not. Then I brought out (everything) to the four winds, offered sacrifice, etc., etc.

But this similarity of legend is not by any means as remarkable as is that of the devotional language of Babylonia to the

teaching of the Bible. Take the following precepts as an example :—

“Daily thy God thou shalt worship with offering, word of mouth, due of incense. Towards thy God thou shalt have purity of heart, that is the due of Godhead. Prayer, supplication and a humble countenance. . . . Early shalt thou present unto Him, and early shalt thou direct thine hands. In thy skill peruse the tablet (*i.e.* search the Scripture). Fear of God begetteth grace, and offering increaseth life, and prayer looseth sin.”

THE SENSE OF SIN IN BABYLONIAN RELIGION.

The sense of sin pervaded the Babylonian religion. When a Magus called on a sick person he examined him, not only in regard to his sins of commission but to those of omission. He asks, “Have you failed to clothe a naked person or to cause a prisoner to see the light?” We are reminded of our Lord’s words at the Judgment, “I was naked and ye clothed Me not, I was in prison and ye visited Me not”. Like the Hebrews the Babylonians regarded all sickness and finally death as a punishment for sin. “In Babel as in the Bible sin is the dominating force everywhere,” says Delitzsch. Confession of sin plays a prominent part in Babylonian religious life. Angelic intermediaries between God and the world were part of the creed. For the influence of the art of Babylon and Assyria on the Hebrew imagination we have only to turn to the visions of Ezekiel. It is a curious but significant circumstance that the most spiritual of all the Hebrew prophets, the prophet-priest Jeremiah, espoused the side of Nebuchadnezzar, the destroyer of Jerusalem and the Temple. He regards the Babylonian conqueror as a person to whom obedience may be safely rendered, as a ruler raised up by God. The prophet does not rail against him or defy him, as his predecessor Isaiah had done to the boastful Assyrian monarchs, whose armies overran Palestine. There seems to have been something about the deporter of the Jewish nation which even their prophets could not deny to be great. Even in Daniel “Nebuchadnezzar the King” is presented as a striking and noble figure. “Thou, O King, art a king of kings : for the God of heaven

hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. And wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field and the fowls of heaven hath He given into thine hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all. Thou art the head of gold" (Daniel ii. 37).

Thus in the person of its king the majesty of Babylon seems to have overawed the Jews and they paid a half-unwilling tribute to his greatness. The very denunciation of the polytheism and idolatry of the famous city shows how powerful a fascination its worship exercised on the minds of many Israelites. But for the danger the people experienced, the prophets would not have been so eloquent about the folly of worshipping graven images.

EFFECTS OF THE CAPTIVITY.

The Captivity which had such an extraordinary effect in quickening the religious life of the people from which issued modern Judaism, as distinguished from the ancient religion of Israel, was passed under Babylonian influence. Can we therefore refrain from conjecturing in what way the life of the Babylonians reflected itself in the customs of the exiles? One of the most striking features of the teaching during the period of the captivity is the prominence given to the observance of the Sabbath. I am far from endeavouring to maintain that the Sabbath was not honoured before the exile; but it is certain that the Jews saw a day of rest scrupulously observed in Babylonia and that the name of this day was *Sabattu*. The rest which was ordered to be observed was as strict as that enjoined in Judaism. "The king was not to mount his chariot or pronounce judgment, the Magus shall not prophesy, even the physician shall not lay his hand on the sick." The insistence upon Sabbath observance is assuredly due to the fact that in Babylon the Jews found their day of rest strictly kept, and the second Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who were all acquainted with the customs of the city, are the prophets who exhort the people to respect the day.

BABYLONIAN MONOTHEISM.

A claim has been made that the Israelites derived their characteristic monotheism from Babylon, and that even the name

יהוה has its origin from thence. It is certain that one of the characteristics of the religion of Babylon was its multiplicity of gods. As to the origin of the word יהוה the question is still in suspense, and the theory as to its Babylonian source can only be decided by scholars whose knowledge of cuneiform is far more advanced than mine. But the claim that we must look to Babylonia for the first idea of a unity of the Godhead has been advanced by Delitzsch in the following terms: "Notwithstanding that free and open minds taught openly that Nergal and Nebo, moon god and sun god, the thunder god Ramman, and all other gods were one in Marduk, the god of light". Jensen says that if this could be proved it would rob "Israel of its greatest glory, in the brilliancy which it has hitherto shone—that of alone of all nations succeeding in attaining to pure monotheism". In answer to this Delitzsch produces a fragment published for Pincher, which shows that all gods are really attributes of Marduk.

ISRAELITE MONOTHEISM.

But in a sense there can be no such person as either a pure monotheist or a pure polytheist. The Israelites allowed that only one God might be worshipped; but in their hearts they believed that the gods of the heathen also had power; and the early Christians with their confession of the Unity of God believed as fully and perhaps more fully than the Gentiles in the might of the other deities; only they, like the Jews, declared that the gods of the heathen were evil spirits. In actual fact the monotheism of both was a belief in one good God whom men ought alone to worship, and who was more powerful than the evil demons (gods of the heathen) who filled the world. In the same way every thinking polytheist is prepared to explain away his many gods as attributes of a hidden Power who is above all. The great distinction between Israel and all cultivated heathens in this respect was that, whilst the Israelite insisted on a practical monotheism, *i.e.*, consecrating all prayer, duty, service, to one God, the heathen allowed the possibility of a speculative monotheism, whilst encouraging men to regard the gods of their ancestors as separate beings often with different interests,

different moral standards, different demands as regards service and obedience.

The importance of the relations of Israel to Babylon and of the debt the development of the chosen people owed to an earlier civilisation may very easily be exaggerated. Of course to those who fall back upon the narrow position that God's spirit worked in no nation save that of Israel, that the Bible is the sole source of revelation, that there is no truth outside its pages, that the Law of Moses is unlike any other law and necessarily superior in every respect to the legislature of all heathen peoples, the revelation that there existed long before Abraham a civilisation in which men enjoyed just laws and had made great discoveries in the fields of religion and ethics, that Israel may have adopted some of these laws and enjoyed the benefit of these discoveries, and that in many respects it fell short of the progress of Babylonia, is sufficient to impugn the whole character of the Divine Scriptures as a revelation.

But I think that the majority of us have learned to regard the revelation of God in human history as a much wider thing. We are ready to adopt the fine conception of the early Greek apologists of Christianity, that the Logos of God was manifesting Himself in all ages and among all races of the world. We do not consider that the Bible alone contains all that is true and beautiful, and that no noble thoughts could come to those outside the ancient covenant. In this spirit we can welcome all that can be discovered by those who devote their attention to the supremely fascinating if difficult study of the newly revealed secrets of the vast monuments and literature of Babylon.

GENERAL RESULTS.

Before I conclude, however, I will indicate the general scope of this paper and the questions raised by what we have just been considering.

We now know that in the country from which Abraham the ancestor of the Semitic nations inhabiting Palestine and Arabia came, a civilisation sprang up bearing many analogies to that of

ancient Israel, especially in the two important points of law and worship. Whether Israel borrowed from the earlier Babylonians directly, or took over the system they had left in Palestine, or whether the laws and customs of both were inherently Semitic we do not know. Side by side are the Hebrew Bible and the discoveries made in Babylonia; but the precise nature of their connexion is not yet determined.

But this much is certain, the supreme interest in Babylonian discovery is due to our Bible, as Delitzsch says, in the opening words of his first lecture:—

“What is the object of this labour in distant, inhospitable and dangerous lands? To what end this costly rummaging in mounds many thousand years old, of digging deep down into the earth in places where no gold and silver are to be found? Why this rivalry among nations for the purpose of securing each for itself these desolate hills—and the more the better—wherein to excavate? And from what source, on the other hand, is derived the self-sacrificing interest, ever on the increase, that is shown on both sides of the ocean, in the excavations in Babylon and Assyria!

“To either question there is one answer, which if not exhaustive, tells us the cause and aim, it is the *Bible*.”

And this being the case we recognise one great proof of the wonderful work of Israel. Babylon, which civilised the nearer East. Babylon, to which we owe so many an unsuspected debt. Babylon, whose science we commemorate when we acknowledge the twenty-four hours' day and the sixty minutes' hour! Babylon is fallen! Its ruins would hardly excite interest but for one insignificant nation which never played a conspicuous part on the world's stage but has been the motive power of human civilisation and progress; the small nation of Israel and the small library of its early literature known as the Old Testament. Even when all is known, and we say even with more astonishment than we can now feel, “Is not this great Babylon?” we shall have to recognise something greater in the least valuable part of that which we term the Bible.

F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON.

ISRAEL IN THE TIME OF THE JUDGES.

REV. A. H. McNEILE, B.D., Dean of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

The thought which characterises all branches of study at the present day is the thought of development, evolution. And Biblical study is no exception to the rule. An examination, therefore, of the Book of Judges must have for its object to appreciate the position which it holds with regard to the development of the Hebrew nation. It presents a picture of a single stage in Israel's life. And it is an early stage; we see God's people in the making. But the importance of the book lies in the fact that the child is father of the man. The development of the Hebrew religion, and therefore of the Christian religion which sprang out of it, cannot be rightly understood without a knowledge of the childhood of Israel.

A. *National Development*.—This must be studied first, for "although the period of childhood of a human being is not the most fruitful either intellectually or spiritually, yet without these years spent in making muscles and sinews, the intellectual and spiritual development of mature years is impossible. Thus it was with the Hebrew people. Without a land, a home, and the growth in culture and ideas which came during this seemingly chaotic epoch, the Hebrews would never have had a message for humanity."¹

1. When the Israelites had conquered Jericho, and gained their first entrance into the country, they did not continue in any sort of outward unity. They were a heterogeneous collection of nomad tribes. Some think there are indications that they did not all arrive in Canaan at the same time, but that certain tribes were already in the country. However that may be, it is quite clear that the two bonds which had united them in the past—a belief

¹ Kent, *A History of the Hebrew People*, i., p. 89.

in a common ancestry and the worship of the same God—were not enough to keep them together when they arrived at a fertile country which they could invade only in small separate detachments. Judges i., which appears to be a fragment of an early history of the settlement, gives some valuable information.

Vv. 1-21. The tribes of Judah and Simeon made the first recorded attempt to gain a territory. (Apparently Benjamin went with them, but they are not mentioned until after they have reached their district.) These tribes went southward by themselves, and gained certain victories (*vv. 4, 8, 10, 17 f.*). They entered into friendly relations with the clan of the Calebites, who, with their kinsmen the Kenizzites, had previously gained a footing in the land at Kiriath-sepher or Debir (*vv. 11-15*); and the Calebites were allowed to occupy Hebron (*v. 20*). But—and this is a very important point—though these Southern Israelites had successfully fought their way into the country, they could settle only in the hills, because the natives in the plains on the west and north of them had war-chariots of iron (*v. 19*). Across the north of Judah ran a high road guarded by fortified Canaanite towns, three of which are mentioned in *v. 35*, and Gezer in *v. 29*. So that these southern tribes were completely cut off from the rest of Israel. And this separation sowed the seeds from the very first of that division of interests which remained throughout the whole of Israelite history, and which, by the empty-headed folly of Rehoboam, widened into a chasm never afterwards to be bridged.

Vv. 22-29. Ephraim and Manasseh advanced to the centre of the country, and took Bethel, which was betrayed to them. Jos. viii. further relates that they captured Ai by stratagem. But it is very significant that the verses describe no more conquests. They merely give the names of six towns, with their dependent villages, which Ephraim and Manasseh could not wrest from the natives. All these towns were in the south and west of the plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon, which lay to the north of the central hills (see also Jos. xvii. 16). These two tribes were, therefore, like the southern tribes, perched in the

hills, and were for some time completely isolated from the rest of Israel by the two chains of fortified Canaanite towns to the north and south of them.

Vv. 30-36. The fortunes of the rest of the tribes were exactly similar. These verses relate nothing but their failure to drive out the natives. They simply settled in their midst in the hills north of the plain of Jezreel.

The history starts, then, with nomad tribes, in three isolated groups on the hills in the south, centre and north of Palestine. They began, like pioneers in American forests, to cut down clearings. In *Jos. xvii. 14-18* the Ephraimites complained to Joshua that they had not enough room. And the only answer that he could give them was that they must "carve out" a space for themselves in the hills by cutting down trees.

2. But his concluding words lead us to the second stage in the development: "the goings out shall be thine; for thou shalt drive out the Canaanites, though they have chariots of iron and though they be strong"—that is to say, the Ephraimites would gradually emerge from the hills into the plains. And this came to pass before very long. The Israelites gradually appeared at the foot of the hills, no doubt at first with great caution, and then more boldly. They slowly got into friendly contact with the Canaanite rustics, learnt from them the art of agriculture, and began to reclaim the slopes of the hills and made them into fields for corn and vines. The Canaanites were much more civilised than they, and they would soon learn from them other arts, and begin trading with them. This growth in civilisation, combined with the rugged strength and wild hardness of the deserts, made the Israelites very formidable neighbours. If they were provoked, they could at any time dash down the slopes, and make raids upon the peaceful valleys, and then escape into their hills before they could be attacked. So the Canaanites found it advisable, in most cases, to receive them into complete friendship. They made mutual covenants of peace, and intermarried. Many of the Israelites would thus live in the plains, and gradually gain a hold over the natives. Their villages grew in size and importance,

until they learnt to strengthen them by building walls round them, with gates and bars. In the more important places a tower was built for further protection (viii. 17 ; ix. 46, 51).

3. When these townships had grown into being, some form of government became necessary. Those who were recognised as rulers, gained their position because they were able to make themselves rulers. Among the older men in a town there would be some of greater wealth or military renown, or of stronger personality than the others. For one reason or another, a few would stand out beyond the rest, and, without any formal election, would act as an oligarchy. And they were technically styled "Elders". At Succoth, for instance, there were no less than seventy-seven elders (viii. 14) ; and see xi. 4 ; 1 Sam. xvi. 4 ; xxx. 26. This beginning of government was of course exceedingly crude ; but still it was a step in advance that there should be any recognised government at all—any power to control and punish and administer justice.

4. But the next step in the development comprises the chief outstanding feature of the period. It will be noticed that in all the four instances cited above the elders of a town sank into insignificance before a great military hero—Gideon, Jephthah, Samuel and David. The reason was that elders could exercise authority only over their own town and the villages in the immediate neighbourhood. The tribal unit had expanded to a civic unit, but the towns were still separate and distinct. Something more was needed to form a wider unit, which should include the whole of large districts. And this was supplied by the attacks of foreign enemies. When attacked, all the towns in a district flew to arms under a single leader. But the Israelites, as a whole, lacked initiative. The great majority of them were mere country peasants, without a thought beyond their corn and vines and flocks ; and when a neighbouring nation made raids upon their farms, they submitted helplessly—sometimes for years together—until there arose a true man, with the heart of a hero, and him they followed at once. Sometimes, as in the case of Jephthah, and apparently Barak, these champions were already well known and famous for

their prowess ; but in some cases, Ehud for example, and notably Gideon, they were quite obscure and insignificant until the moment when they came forward and showed themselves capable of leadership. The fourth step, then, in Israelite development, consisted in the rise of individual men at special crises to the position of something like a dictatorship over large areas, thus drawing into closer unity all the towns in a district.

5. The development, however, does not cease here. How was it that they acquired the title of " Judge " ? The Hebrew word *Shōphēt* cannot strictly denote a Champion or Deliverer ; it always retains, to a certain extent, its proper force. We can see in imagination one of these champions at the end of a successful battle. He has emerged, like Cincinnatus, from his farm, and wrought great deliverance. And on his return from the fight he would be the one man whom his tribe and district would delight to honour. He would go back to his farm, but would always be the first man to whom they would turn in any subsequent difficulty. To the admiring rustics round him his word would be law, and so he would constantly be called upon to act as arbiter in disputes of all kinds. If the elders of one town, for instance, had a grievance against the elders of another town, he would be the only person to whom both parties would listen with respect. The most advanced instance of this state of things is seen in the case of Samuel, who is said to have gone round to a series of important towns, in which he was allowed to act in this capacity of a judge (1 Sam. vii. 16). And thus a momentary unity of towns for a battle would ripen into a more abiding unity under an elementary sort of civil administration exercised by one man.

6. But we still move on, and approach the final completion of the development. At this point the notices of the minor judges become important. The leading position of authority reached by the judge would inevitably be marked, according to Oriental ideas, by outward display, and by a certain dignity attaching to his family. Jair the Gileadite had thirty sons who rode as chiefs upon ass colts (x. 4) ; and in the case of Abdon the dignity is said to have continued for two generations (xii. 14).

And in every notice of a minor judge a special statement is made of the place where he was buried ; an honourable burial was an indispensable close to a princely life. In all this we see the first signs of the idea of royalty. And the great importance of Gideon's story lies in the fact that to him, for the first time, the kingship was definitely offered by his grateful countrymen, and more, a hereditary kingship (viii. 22). Like Cæsar he refused the crown. But his son Abimelech schemed to win it. The writer shrinks from applying to him the title of king, and says (ix. 22) : " Abimelech was prince over Israel three years " ; but if he had ruled wisely and kindly, there is little doubt that he would have had a good chance of being fully and actually king. But he forfeited his prospects by tyranny and brutality, thus postponing the day when the last step in the development could be taken. But at the close of the Book of Judges everything was ripe for this last step, and when Saul emerged from his farm to champion Jabesh Gilead, he was elected by acclamation the first King of Israel.

It is in the childhood of a nation, as of a man, that growth is most rapid and visible. And the Book of Judges has this peculiar interest, that in it we can see Israel growing to man's estate. When Israel was a child God loved him, and guided his growth. To suppose that the Hebrews arrived in Canaan a fully organised and victorious nation, such as the Book of Joshua ideally pictures them, and that they fell from their first estate into anarchy, is a mistake from which we are saved by understanding the results of modern criticism, which shows that the ideal picture in Joshua is later and less historically accurate than the picture in Judges. The nation, like everything else in God's creation, followed the divinely appointed order of progress : " First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear ".

B. *Ethical Standard*.—When we pass from the outward development to study the state of mind, the ethics, the social morality of the Hebrews in this period, the first feeling is one of disappointment. The ethics of the period are crude, very crude. They sweep away all the preconceived notions with which some

people open their Bibles. An inspired book, the product of an inspired people, ought, they think, to give us portraits of saints for us to imitate. Maurice's words are worth quoting: "Are not inspired men to be different from other men? Alas, that we should cut ourselves off from God's great mercy to His creatures for the sake of a participle! Alas, that when He raises up men to teach us what He is and what we are, we should turn round upon Him and say, Thou oughtest to have so constituted these men that they should not have been our teachers, that they should have had no relations with us; otherwise Thou dost not satisfy our notions of what an inspired man should be!"

If, then, we are obliged to note at what a low stage the ethics of Israel stood during this period, the study will be worth while, for it will have two results. Firstly, it will be borne in upon us afresh how wonderful is the guiding power of the Spirit of God, which could evolve, out of such unpromising material, a nation whose key-word was to be Righteousness—a nation that could produce such high-souled teachers as the Prophets and the Psalmists. And secondly, it will make us bow our heads in thankfulness that our eyes have been carried even beyond the Prophets and Psalmists to the dazzling height of the perfect Man. By means of the Book of Judges we can draw the true measure of contrast between the character of the saviours of ancient Israel and the character towards which we may strive in union with the Saviour of all men.

The criterion by which the ethical standard of a period can be judged, is the praise or blame which this and that action receives from contemporaries. In some cases, to be noted later, definite censure or praise is accorded to an action. But there were many things about which modern civilisation would have much to say, but which appear to have excited no comment or feeling at the time—cruelties, barbarism and social depravity, which are stated as quite ordinary facts, occurring in the lives of the champions whom the writer evidently wishes us to honour and respect.

(a) Such were the tortures applied by Hebrews and

Canaanites alike to prisoners of war (i. 6 f.). When Gideon, the best and most attractive of the judges, was pursuing the Midianites, the elders of Succoth refused to help his soldiers with food, and he threatened them with terrible vengeance on his return (viii. 7). The English versions conceal the savagery of the original: "I will *thresh* your flesh together with thorns of the wilderness"—that is to say, he would make them lie down upon thorn branches, and would crush their bodies as though he were threshing wheat. And in v. 16 he fulfils his threat.¹ In xix. 29 an act is related, which, though not a case of torture, would be possible only in a barbarous age. When Saul (i Sam. xi. 7) cut up the body of an ox, and sent the pieces round the country, we feel it was an uncivilised burst of enthusiasm. But a woman who was a concubine was considered scarcely better than an ox. In the narrative of Jephthah's vow (ch. xi.), we are in a different element, but none the less barbarous. The writer intends that the reader's interest shall tremble between admiration for the daughter's heroism, and pity for the father's sorrow; but he does not let fall the slightest hint that human sacrifice, as such, was a crime. Our modern sympathy, of course, goes to the daughter, and is voiced by Byron and Tennyson. In the story of Abimelech (ch. ix.) there are further atrocities. The writer, indeed, condemns his actions, but not because they were cruel, but because he was hostile to the sons of Gideon, the popular hero. He massacred in cold blood all but one of his seventy half-brothers (v. 5); and when the Shechemites afterwards turned against him, and about a thousand men *and women* took refuge in the Tower of Shechem, he deliberately burnt it to the ground with this mass of human beings (v. 49). And with these horrors we can class the widespread and accepted practice of blood-revenge, of which we have an instance in Gideon's execution of Zebah and Zalmunna because they had killed his brothers (viii. 18-21).

¹ The word has been altered in the Hebrew text, either accidentally, or because the scribe wished to free Gideon from the stain of such cruelty. For "he taught" we must, in accordance with all the early versions, read "he threshed" with the change of one consonant.

(b) These instances were due to the prevalent disregard of human life. It was not realised in those days that man was made in the image of God, and must therefore be revered as man. Another aspect of the dark picture is the terribly low position accorded to women. In an age of brute strength, physical weakness was despised, and so the weaker vessel was held in little honour.

In all early Semitic races from Babylon to Palestine, marriage was a commercial contract made with the woman's father. As time went on, the purchase-money paid for her was commonly given back in the form of her dowry; but the real principle of the transaction was that she was bought like any slave. If the required price was not money or kind, it was an act of service or prowess (*cf.* Gen. xxix. 15-30; 1 Sam. xviii. 20-27). Caleb promised his daughter to any man who captured Kiriath-sepher, and she was handed over to Othniel (i. 12 f.). And when Samson took a fancy to a Philistine woman, he said to his parents: "Get her for me to wife" (xiv. 2), which meant "negotiate with her parents as to the price for which they will let me have her". On such a system the number of wives that a man had was apt to be in proportion to the money at his command. Gideon, for instance, when he rose to almost regal power, had "many wives" (viii. 30)—the invariable accompaniment of regal display. It was not till the time of the prophets that there was any trace of the thought that monogamy was a higher state than polygamy.¹

In addition to his wives, Gideon had a concubine (v. 31), who was the mother of Abimelech. The status of a concubine as compared with that of a wife is not very clear, but she was evidently an inferior piece of property. The absolute power which her lord and master had over her is illustrated by the terrible story of the Levite at Gibeah (ch. xix.). What renders it, if possible, still more terrible, is the fact that he is represented as loving her. In order not to break the law of friendliness by allowing the house of his host to be attacked, he sacrificed a piece of property of which he was very fond!

¹ See some useful remarks by Dr. Paterson in art. "Marriage" in Hastings' *D. B.*, iii.

And there were also harlots. Such was the mother of Jephthah, and with one such woman, if not with two, Samson had dealings. As in the case of polygamy, it was not till the more refined morality of the prophets was evolved that harlotry was condemned, and it became symbolical of the unfaithfulness of Israel to Jehovah their Lord and Husband.

And once more. The extraordinary elasticity of the popular conscience is shown in the story of the rape at Shiloh. Although the Israelites would not break their oath not to give their daughters to the Benjamites in marriage, yet they were quite willing, with a shameless casuistry, that 200 of their daughters should be snatched and carried off.

If we suddenly transport ourselves to the women of the New Testament, and look on this picture and on that, we can with increased thankfulness praise God that He came into the world to raise woman from slavery and degradation to the highest height at which man can place her.

(c) So far we have looked at features of the time which were more or less normal ; points on which neither the actors nor the narrator expressed praise or blame. But the question must now be asked : What sort of actions were considered wrong at this early period ? And we can detect only two. (a) One was any action which was unfavourable to the interests of the nation or tribe or clan to which a man belonged. Jabesh-Gilead was visited with ruthless vengeance because it sent no soldiers to the battle against Benjamin. Gideon's clan of Abiezer would have been perpetuated through his seventy sons, had it not been for their assassination by Abimelech. It was not the barbaric murder that was condemned, so much as the anti-tribal animosity with which he usurped rights that belonged to his half-brothers. And the failure to support national interests is magnificently condemned in Deborah's song, in which scorn is hurled upon the tribes that were too lazy or too undecided to come and fight. (β) And the second point is, in principle, connected with this. The nation is composed of tribes, and the tribe of clans ; but the real basis of them all is the family. Now it was a marked feature of Semitic

life that the family embraced not only kinsmen by blood, but also any strangers who might be staying with them. And hence it was that the laws of hospitality were so stringent. Host and guest alike were bound to uphold each other's interests to the last extremity. It was because public opinion condemned so strongly any failure in this respect that the Levite at Gibeah preferred to sacrifice his concubine, and the man who had given him hospitality was willing to give up his daughter (xix. 23 f.).

And conversely, the one thing that received full and enthusiastic approbation was devoted loyalty to tribal interests. Besides the eulogies heaped upon the patriotic tribes in Deborah's song, there are two famous instances of this in the Book of Judges. (a) Ehud was actuated by a fine zeal which laughed at danger, but it did not prevent him from resorting to treachery (iii. 18-23). A heartless assassin! cries the modern civilised conscience; but it is quite clear that to the narrator Ehud was a glorious hero. Now there are two very different ways in which this story may be regarded. The wrong and pernicious way is to imagine that though we should consider such an act a crime, yet because it is recorded in the Bible it must in some way be right; that a treacherous assassination is not treacherous because God has given us the account in His Word, and no hint of blame is attached to it. If we think that, we are in terrible danger of making God less just and moral and merciful than ourselves. The other, and the only right, way of looking at it is to admit that Ehud's action was as wrong as it could be, but not to confuse the sinner and the sin. God taught men by very slow degrees; and Ehud acted up to the light he had received in performing a perilous exploit for the good of his tribe, but he did not know that the action was in itself a hideous crime. (β) And one other crucial instance remains. A terrified man was fleeing on foot for dear life. A woman, whose tribe was friendly to his, took him into her tent, gave him liberal hospitality, and then—murdered him. The story of Jael has been treated in different ways. One explanation is of the type just noticed. Because it is in the Bible, it must somehow be right, and we must suppose that God gave Jael a sudden

secret command to kill Sisera. Even Augustine found shelter in this supposition. Maurice speaks vehement words about it: "I only mention this horrible solution of the riddle as an instance of the strange frauds we may practise upon ourselves. We desire to justify God's ways. That we may do so we cast the whole blame of human evil upon Him! We cannot feel comfortable while we believe that the thought of an act which we feel to be treacherous arose in the mind of the wife of Heber the Kenite; we are quite happy if we can believe that it arose in the Divine Mind! I know that when the interpretation presents itself in this form it will make us shudder. I desire that it should."

Mozley explained the difficulty in a different way. Sisera was the very life and soul of the Canaanite kingdom; and if his whole army perished and he escaped, the snake was scotched not killed. Was the inferior mass to be slaughtered and was the arch-enemy to escape? If Jael let Sisera go, he would collect an army for another invasion. She must, then, be treacherous either to Israel or to Sisera, and she had to decide on the instant. And she decided that the real rescue of Israel required the death of Sisera. Mozley thus puts her action in a line with that of Ehud; relatively to the morality of her time it was justifiable. But this does not quite take account of all the facts. Heber the Kenite was in peaceful friendship with the Canaanites. The Kenite tribe was not Hebrew, and though it was friendly with Judah in the far South, Heber had separated himself from his tribe, and had thrown in his lot with the Canaanites in the North. Jael could thus have no objection to the escape of Sisera and the fresh rallying of his forces. And therefore she was not between the horns of the dilemma which Mozley constructs for her. Again, even relatively to the morality of her time she was not acting up to her lights, for she flagrantly transgressed the imperative law of hospitality. What, then, induced her to do the deed? The most satisfactory explanation is that she gave him shelter, fully intending to save his life as a member of a friendly tribe. But when Barak and his men appeared in fierce pursuit, she became frightened. If Sisera were found sheltered in her tent, Barak

and his troops would undoubtedly kill her as well as him. So to save her own life and family, she killed Sisera, and called Barak in before he could attack her tent, and showed him what she had done. The dilemma was not a national, but a purely personal, one. It is an instance of tragedy in the strict sense of the word, and we can only feel a great pity for her. But with regard to the morality of the time, the centre of the problem really shifts from her to the poet who cried: "Blessed above women shall Jael be, the wife of Heber the Kenite; blessed shall she be above women in the tent!" The writer of the song in ch. v. in a burst of thanksgiving to God mingled gratitude to Jael, without pausing to consider the true motive which had prompted her action; all other feelings were drowned in one indiscriminate emotion of rapture at the overthrow of Israel's enemies. Most commentators are now agreed that the song was not the work of Deborah herself, and that the words in it which give that impression are due to a wrong rendering. But whoever the author was, he or she was possessed with a burning patriotism for the people of Jehovah, with a gratitude for every one who furthered their cause; and it was a gratitude that covered a multitude of sins.

C. *Religion*.—If from all this unpromising material could be produced the nation which was to give a Divine message to the world, there must have been something within it capable of glorious development. The Hebrews had a religion better than the religion of their neighbours; they worshipped Jehovah. But before looking at the characteristics of this worship, two other influences must first be taken into account.

(a) *Primitive Superstitions*.—Whenever a new religion is promulgated, old habits of thought linger for a long time in the popular mind, side by side with the new beliefs. There are only meagre traces of this in Israel, because all their history was written by zealous prophets, who loved to carry back into the far past the religion of their own times, and to think of the patriarchs of their race as worshipping Jehovah with the same purity and earnestness as themselves. And thus the vestiges of a primitive state of religion have, for the most part, been swept away.

But here and there can be detected details which are obviously very ancient. The most noticeable is the belief that the world was inhabited by many *numina*—semi-divine beings who were attached to particular spots, especially to stones, trees and springs.¹ A stone, as in the case of Jacob, was often considered as a "Beth-El," a house of a deity. And this early belief found expression for a long time in the employment, both by Hebrews and Canaanites, of the sacred stone pillar or *mazzēbhah*, which was set up in connexion with altars. See ix. 6, "the terebinth of the mazzēbhah,"² a sacred tree beneath which stood a sacred pillar. iii. 19, Ehud "turned back from the *quarries* that were by Gilgal"; but R.V. margin rightly has "graven images," and so in v. 26. And when it is remembered that Joshua is related to have set up stones at Gilgal, and that the name Gilgal appears to denote "a circle," we must conclude that there was a sacred circle of stones at Gilgal which were used in worship, something like the ancient Celtic "cromlechs". vi. 11, "the terebinth which was in Ophrah"; the use of the definite article seems to point to a well-known sacred tree. iv. 5, "the palm-tree of Deborah" was probably a sacred tree. ix. 37, "the terebinth of Meonenim," explained in R.V. margin as "the augurs' terebinth"—a well-known tree in which a *numen* or spirit was supposed to dwell, which gave oracular answers to soothsayers.

Another relic of primitive days is seen in human sacrifice. The prophetic narrator who wrote the story of the offering of Isaac evidently wished to teach that Jehovah was not pleased with the barbarous custom, and accepted the will for the deed. But the nation had not yet risen to that point. Jephthah vowed to Jehovah that he would sacrifice "the first-comer out of the doors of my house to meet me," and he would hardly expect that this would be an animal. The tragedy, according to the ideas of the time, did not consist in the human sacrifice, but only in the fact that the victim was his daughter.

¹ The sacredness of springs does not appear in the Book of Judges, but is met with elsewhere in the Old Testament.

² "*Mazzēbhah*" here is a very probable emendation, adopted by the revisers for the word *muzzābh*, which means "a garrison".

Outside the Book of Judges several other features of primitive superstitions can be found ; but these are enough to show that they survived in Israel for a long time.

(b) *Canaanite Cults.*—A leading characteristic of these was the belief that each district and locality was in the possession of a particular deity, who might be either male or female. In the case of a male deity, he was generally known as the “Baal” of the locality, that is, its Owner or Lord ; so that there was an indefinite number of Baalim. See iii. 3, Baal-Hermon ; xx. 33, Baal-Tamar ; and in other books, Baal-Peor, Baal-Hazor, Baal-Perazim, and so on—places named after the Baal of each spot.

The goddess of a place was often named Ashtart, or in some dialects Athtart ; and thus there was an indefinite number of Ashtarothe (see ii. 13 ; x. 6). These local deities were worshipped with images, and generally upon *bāmōth*,¹ “high places”—any hillock or rising ground in the neighbourhood. At the side of the altar stood the *mazzebhah*, and also a sacred tree. When an actual tree was not available, a mere wooden stump called an *ashērah*² (plur. *ashērīm*) was employed to represent it. The worship was often accompanied by barbarous horrors. One was human sacrifice, which appears to have been specially practised by the races on the east of the Jordan, the worst form of it being the sacrifice of children. And another was organised immorality, men and women being consecrated for the purpose.

Such were the conditions in the midst of which Jehovah worship had to fight its way. That worship must now be studied under two aspects.

1. *The Conceptions Entertained about Jehovah.*

(a) When Moses united the tribes in the worship of Jehovah, that act alone was not enough to prove to them that there were no other gods. Even the first Commandment (whether due to Moses or not) may only mean “Thou, Israel, shalt acknowledge

¹ The worship on the *bāmōth* is mentioned in Mesha's inscription on the “Moabite stone”.

² Some think that the word is connected with the name of another Canaanite goddess ; but this is uncertain.

for thyself none other gods but Me". Moab might have its Milcom, and Ammon its Chemosh, but Israel owed allegiance to Jehovah alone. v. 4 f. shows the belief that He had originally had His abode upon Mount Sinai, and that He had moved through Edom to help their armies in Canaan. xi. 24, Jephthah's idea clearly was that the enemy owed all they possessed to Chemosh quite as truly as that Israel owed their land to Jehovah. 1 Sam. xxvi. 19, David implied that to be driven from the country involved the worshipping of the god of another country. It is true that the words are put into the mouth of his enemies, but David acquiesced in the thought, and was deeply troubled by it. 2 Kings v. 17, Naaman held the same belief, that Jehovah's presence must be attached to His own soil.

(b) This thought introduces the chief point of contact between the Israelite and the Canaanite religions. Since Jehovah was attached to His land, and was the one deity worshipped by all Hebrews, He was the "Owner" of the whole country. Hence they took up the name "Baal," and applied it to Him. All the spots which used to belong to different Baalim now had one and the same Owner. That Jehovah was called Baal is shown by the proper names compounded with it. Jerubbaal, Gideon's other name, is probably an instance in point.¹ It seems to mean "Baal [*i.e.* Jehovah] pleads [the cause of him who bears the name]";² or, deriving it from another verb, "Baal founds or establishes". And later on we find the name, Baal-yada (David's son), Eshbaal (Saul's son), Meribbaal (Saul's grandson).³ Nowhere is this use of Baal forbidden until Hosea ii. 17. We can thus see how dangerously easy it was for Israel to join in Canaanite worship. The popular mind could not distinguish between the higher and the lower conception of the Owner of the country. When they erected a *mazzebah* and an *asherah*,

¹ Though the narrator explains it by reference to the words of Gideon's father, "Let Baal plead his own cause".

² Cf. "Israel," which appears to mean "God perseveres [in behalf of the bearer of the name]".

³ Religious writers of a later time, who had learnt to hold the name Baal in abhorrence, altered these names by substituting "El" (God) or "Bosheth" (Shame); hence the forms Jerubbesheth (2 Sam. xi. 21), El-yada, Ishbosheth, Mephibosheth.

and placed their altars upon *bāmōth* it was all done with the somewhat vague feeling that they were doing honour to Jehovah, the one great Baal. The weaker minds were led on to the full lengths of Canaanite idolatry, while to others the thought of the one great Baal proved an elevating conception which absorbed and did away with all the lesser local divinities.

(c) Another conception of Jehovah arose from His special favour to Israel. He was pre-eminently the God who helped them in war. The *locus classicus* for this is the song in ch. v. And Gideon's battle-cry, "The sword of Jehovah and of Gideon," places his God as the real warrior Leader before himself. And countless other instances throughout the Old Testament show the belief that "Jehovah of Hosts" is "a Man of war".

(d) We saw above that the prestige gained by a successful champion was that which gradually led to the idea of kingship. And the same thought was applied to Jehovah the Divine Warrior. When Gideon declined the kingship (viii. 23) he persuaded the people by stating a truth which they all knew and recognised—"Jehovah shall rule over you". And this, again, is a point of contact with the Canaanites. The name Milcom among the Moabites, its shorter form Milk among the Phœnicians, and the name (as the Hebrew text spells it) Molech or Moloch, are all identical with the Hebrew Malk or Melek, meaning "king". And many proper names were compounded with it—Abimelech, Ahimelech, Malchishuah, Melchiah, and others.

(e) The four aspects which we have now studied are all consistent with a more or less material, and certainly anthropomorphic, conception of Jehovah. And other Old Testament writings increase the certainty that the early ideas as a whole were inclined to be material. But by the time of the judges a development had already begun. In more than one narrative we read of the "Angel of Jehovah" (ii. 1; vi. 12; xiii. 15 ff.). This was not, according to the thought of the time, an inferior spirit, sent out to minister at Jehovah's command; it was Jehovah Himself (as the narratives of Gideon and Manoah clearly show), in a partial and temporary descent to visibility. It

is an exceedingly important element in the religious thought of Israel, that this partial manifestation, with the special title "the Angel," *implied something more*—it implied the full and complete majesty which could not be seen.

(f) The narrative of Manoah shows by another striking expression that the Hebrews were beginning to realise that God is other than material (xiii. 17 f., "Wherefore askest thou after my Name, seeing it is wonderful?"). The "name" meant to a Hebrew something which described the actual person. It was, moreover, something which influenced its bearer objectively, so that if one knew his name and invoked it, one obtained some sort of control over him, and he was bound to respond to the invocation. Jehovah here told Manoah that he could not gain this intimate knowledge of His very Being, because it was Wonderful, Incomprehensible (*cf.* Gen. xxxii. 30).

To this stage the Hebrews had reached. But they lacked, as yet, the knowledge of some enormously important truths. They had formed very little conception of God as a Being with a moral character, a Being of love, a Being who hates sin, and whose love and whose hatred of sin are infinite and therefore extend beyond the Hebrews to all men under the whole heavens.

2. *The Manner of His Worship.*—We have already seen those features of Jehovah worship which were introduced under the influence of primitive superstition and of the Canaanite cults. But three other factors remain to be noticed.

(a) *The Use of Images.*—We have no clear guide as to how much the Israelites learnt from Moses himself, because practically every law and religious observance that was promulgated throughout their whole history was ascribed to him, with the exception of those in Ezek. xl.-xlviii. But there is no sign before the eighth century that the nation had received the second Commandment. David had teraphim; the priests of Nob had an ephod in the sanctuary; Jeroboam's golden bulls were expressly intended to represent the God that brought Israel out of Egypt; Elijah raised no voice against images; and even Hosea (iii. 4) could speak in one breath of king, priest, sacrifice, mazzebhah,

ephod and teraphim, as civil and religious privileges which Israel would lose in exile. In the time of the judges it is clear that images were employed in Jehovah worship. When Micah restored the stolen money to his mother, she dedicated it "unto Jehovah, to make a graven and a molten image" (xvii. 3). And Gideon, in order to celebrate his victory over Midian, asked for the golden earrings from the spoil and made an ephod at Ophrah, which was worshipped by the people. The later religious editor condemns this as idolatry, but Gideon's previous destruction of the altar of Baal shows that he had no thought of idolatry; it was a thankful tribute of worship to Jehovah.

(b) *Festivals and Sacrifices*.—We hear of one religious festival, evidently held at the fruit harvest (xxi. 19). This cannot have been observed until after the entrance into Canaan, when the Israelites had learnt to cultivate crops. The Canaanites held a similar festival (ix. 27). From the injunctions in Exodus we may assume that three festivals were annually observed at successive stages in the agricultural year. The mode of their celebration by feasting and dancing was characteristic of the early days of Israelite life. The worshippers joined with their God in a free and happy communion, He and they each receiving a portion of the sacrificial victim. On the other hand, occasions of solemn awe or fear were marked by a different sacrifice—the "burnt offering," in which the worshipper took no share in the flesh, but the whole was given to God by fire (see vi. 19 ff., 26; xi. 30 f., xiii. 19 f.). It should be noticed, in passing, that the restriction of all sacrifice to one central sanctuary was at this time utterly unknown. The harvest festival was at Shiloh, Gideon sacrificed at Ophrah, Jephthah at Gilead, and Manoah at Zorah.

(c) *Priests*.—The act of sacrificing was not, during this period, confined to priests or to members of the tribe of Levi. Gideon was a Manassite, Jephthah a Gileadite, and Manoah a Danite. We are, however, upon the threshold of the period when priests began to rise into prominence. Their chief duty was not sacrifice, but the giving of oracular answers when men inquired of Jehovah. Chs. xvii., xviii. are of importance from the light which they

throw upon the nature and status of the priesthood. When Micah set up a shrine—a *bēth Elōhīm* (xvii. 5)—he consecrated one of his sons to be his priest. The Hebrew expression is “he filled the hand of one of his sons,” which seems to mean that he placed in his hand either a portion of a victim or some other sacred object connected with worship, as a sign that he was officially entitled to perform the necessary acts. But notice that a layman—an Ephraimite—could consecrate, and his son could be priest. Shortly afterwards, however, there came by a certain Levite. Now when we hear of a Levite, we naturally think that he will be of the family of Levi; but xvii. 7 says “a young man of the *family of Judah*, who was a Levite”. The term Levite, then, implied at that time not ancestry but occupation; it corresponded to the then idea of a “clergyman,” one who was technically trained in the methods of inquiring of the Divine oracle (xviii. 5) and in other ritual. Micah’s son could quite well be a priest, but an expert was more satisfactory (xvii. 13). Such Levites can best be compared with the chantry priests of the middle ages. They were in many cases in the depths of poverty, with no home, and they wandered about seeking for work and a livelihood. The Levite in ch. xix. was not so poor as some; he had a home in Ephraim, and could buy a concubine and take a slave about with him. When the Danites carried off Micah’s Levite and his images, they set up a sanctuary in the north; and in xviii. 30 we read “Jonathan the son of Gershom the son of Moses, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites, until the day of the captivity of the land”. This statement implies that the Danite priesthood traced their descent through Micah’s young Levite to Moses. But if this young Levite was of the family of Judah, how could he be Moses’ grandson? The descent from Moses seems to be due to some one who wrote at a later time, when all Levites were thought to have been so called because they were descended from Levi the son of Jacob. It is an obscure difficulty which is still the subject of a good deal of discussion, and this is not the place to enter upon it.

To sum up. The outward growth of Israel was strong and

rapid ; they developed from scattered groups of nomads into a national unity under a king. In ethics and social morality they stood on a low level, the highest virtue they knew being devotion to tribe and clan and family. Their religion also was in an elementary state, but it had within it the seeds of development, and the seeds had begun to germinate. It was still hampered by relics of archaic superstitions, and still badly hampered by the surrounding Canaanite practices. But for all that, Jehovah was duly worshipped with images and altars, with joyous sacrificial feasts and with solemn burnt-offerings ; and these were offered all over the country, by men of any tribe. And we have seen that two changes were in progress. Externally, a body of priests was growing up, into whose hands all ritual would gradually fall ; and internally there was a far more momentous change in the conceptions of Jehovah Himself. He was not only the Baal of the land, and the Man of War, and the King of His people, but He was a spiritual Being who would reveal Himself only in temporary and partial manifestations, and whose real Name and Nature were unfathomable.

But from that time onwards, He allowed men slowly to fathom farther into the depths. They learnt, as the later editor of the book insists, that He was a God who could not rightly be worshipped with stone pillars, and tree stumps, and images ; they learnt from the prophets that He was a God of holiness and love, who was equally concerned with all nations. Until at last, through Him who was the true Lord, Champion, King and Priest, He revealed the fulness of the Godhead, the Name that is above every name.

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ELEMENTARY STUDIES IN BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

REV. GRAINGER TANDY.

II. THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP.

We will suppose that the beginner has familiarised himself with the phenomena presented by our study¹ of Chronicles, and that he now turns to consider the application of the same principles to the Old Testament literature generally.

At the outset he meets with what is probably to the average person the most startling claim of modern Biblical Criticism—the claim to question the traditional authorship of the various books of the Old Testament. The alarm is natural; for we are so accustomed nowadays to ask at once of any new literary work, “Who is the Author?” that we find it difficult to believe that any ancient book can be accepted as really genuine unless we know exactly who wrote it. And the signature of a recognised person, especially if he be an eye-witness of what he relates, is to us a sort of guarantee of the accuracy and reliability of his testimony. But the demand for this as applied to the books of the Bible is unreasonable and impossible. The chronological sweep of many of the books of the Old Testament renders the notion of “eye-witness” authorship untenable; and the historical books, where the guarantee of a writer’s name would on this theory be most necessary, are just those which are either admittedly anonymous, or whose authorship is most doubtful. Even in the New Testament, the authority of the various books really rests, not on the names which are attached to them, but on their acceptance by the Catholic Church as preserving a true record of her tradition from the beginning—“the things most surely believed among us”. So also in the case of the Old Testament, the real value of the records depends, not on the authors to whom tradition or guess may assign them, nor indeed on our knowing who wrote them at all; but on their acceptance by the Jewish

¹ See THE INTERPRETER for October, 1906.

Church, and their acknowledgment as Canonical. Their reliability need not be affected in the least by any amount of discussion as to their exact authorship.

I.

Now, if once we can get this idea clearly fixed, and feel ourselves free to examine the evidence with an open mind, I think we shall be astonished to find how little we really know of the authorship of the Old Testament. Take your Bible and consider.

1. We may leave the Pentateuch on one side for the present, because the question of authorship there very largely depends on our conclusions as to its composition and the dates of the various elements of which it is said to be compiled ; though even Deuteronomy (which might at first sight appear to be undoubtedly Mosaic) not only contains the account of Moses' death, but also throughout professes to be the work of a writer who introduces Moses in the third person and reports his speeches. The Book of Joshua no more claims to be written by Joshua himself than does that of Esther profess to be actually composed by the Jewish maiden whose name it bears. The same must be said of the Book of Ruth. Samuel dies at the end of the twenty-fourth chapter of the first Book bearing his name ; he can hardly be supposed, at any rate, to be the author of what follows. Judges, Kings and Chronicles are confessedly anonymous. Ezra and Nehemiah are manifestly compilations, based indeed on "memoirs" written in the first person, but with very large additions in the third person by a later hand. Job, even if he be an historical person, does not come before us as the actual writer of the book bearing his name : it is the story of Job told by somebody else. The Psalms pre-eminently, and the Proverbs in a less degree, present themselves as collections, gathered together from various sources. While, when you turn to the Prophets, it is only by an examination of each separate book that you are at all able to decide whether it claims to be the actual production of the Prophet himself, or merely the record of his teaching gathered up and preserved by another hand. Ezekiel, for example, exhibits

throughout plain evidence of being the undoubted work of the Prophet whose name it bears. Jonah, on the other hand, in both form and contents is manifestly not the sort of book a man would write about himself; it claims to be nothing more than a book *about* Jonah, written by another author.

The Titles of the books are inconclusive as evidence of Authorship.

2. Nor is it merely that the names given to the books in our Bibles are thus ambiguous: they are, as they stand, of very doubtful authority. Both in the oldest MSS., and in the Versions (which, of course, often preserve much earlier evidence than any MS. we possess), we are simply carried to comparatively late and often divergent guesses and traditions. We are not at all, therefore, in the position of those who would question the actual signature of a writer appended to his work; but only of inquirers who seek to know upon what grounds certain titles have been affixed to certain books. For these titles themselves are really the same in character (though they may differ in the degree of their accuracy) with the historical notes affixed to St. Paul's Epistles in our Authorised Version. No one is seriously disturbed by our questioning the correctness of these subscriptions, which are merely traditional additions; no one would for a moment imagine that the real authority and value of the books are in any way threatened by their removal as unauthorised and inaccurate. Why then should it seem so dreadful to examine the superscriptions—the titles of the books—which rest equally upon a traditional and often doubtful basis? In the New Testament, indeed, we are already familiar with the process. No scholar would now quote the Epistle to the Hebrews as the work of St. Paul; everybody recognises that here at any rate the traditional heading is open to revision. The witness of antiquity is too doubtful, and the internal evidence of the Epistle itself is too strong, for any one now to insist on the Pauline authorship; we cannot say indeed with any approach to certainty who was really the writer, but without doubt it has been wrongly ascribed to St. Paul. Now the investigations of Old Testament

criticism on this point are but the application of exactly the same process of inquiry to the authorship of the older books. It is surely no more irreverent to test titles in the Old Testament than in the New. The names given to the various books in the Jewish Canon are at least as traditional as any in the Christian Canon, and for the most part they are far more uncertain and open to question. Our names for the five books of the Pentateuch, for instance, are derived from the Septuagint, and differ entirely from the titles by which the same books are known to the Jews. In separating 1 and 2 Samuel from 1 and 2 Kings, on the other hand, we are following the Hebrew MSS.; the LXX. reckoned them all together as forming the four βίβλοι βασιλειῶν. Ezra and Nehemiah in the Jewish Canon appear as one complete work, the whole being known as the Book of Ezra. While both to the Jews and to the LXX., Malachi is not the name of a prophet at all, but the description of his office: the LXX. translate Malachi i. 1, ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ; and the Targum boldly declares the book to have been written "by the hand of My messenger, whose name is called Ezra the scribe". In the face of these and other variations, it is impossible to consider anything as settled by the titles which the books now bear in our English Bibles; these designations represent in many cases only one tradition out of several. Our second conclusion is plain:—

The Titles themselves are traditional and open to question.

3. When we come to the historical investigation, the *external* evidence for the authorship of any book in the Old Testament is extremely difficult to find. The prevalent idea that the Jews have preserved for us ancient and reliable traditions in this matter is entirely without foundation. All Jewish testimony bearing on this question is comparatively late—much too late to make any serious claim to be historical evidence; and such traditions as do exist are demonstrably little more than vague guesses and speculations. No one who is acquainted with the manner in which Rabbinical literature has dealt with the past will be inclined to attach much real importance to such speculations, contradictory and impossible as they often are. Yet it is curious to note how

people who on all other points are suspicious of even genuine "tradition," if it lie outside the Bible, yet attach a semi-sacred importance that must not be questioned to the testimony which the Jews are supposed to have preserved for us here. As a matter of fact, the Jewish tradition on all points relating to the literary history of the Old Testament is so confused and questionable as to be useless for any real investigation. What, for example, can a serious historian make of the "tradition" preserved in the fourth book of Ezra, where we are told that the Law having been totally lost and destroyed, Ezra was miraculously enabled in forty days not only to rewrite the whole of the Old Testament, but also to produce in addition seventy sacred books of even higher value for the edification of "such as be wise among the people"? And this is only a specimen of the sort of improbable legend which meets us at every stage of the inquiry. The absence of real testimony is not an invention of "critics" (who indeed in so difficult a problem would be glad to seize upon the smallest particle of genuine evidence); but it is the inevitable conclusion which awaits the most conservative student if he will but make the investigation.

Real historical evidence as to the Authorship of the Books of the Old Testament is non-existent.

4. If in the midst of this tangle of vague speculation we endeavour to search out the real foundation of the notion of a genuine tradition, we shall find it, I think, in the Talmud—of all possible sources perhaps the most tainted with puerile guesses and fancies. The fact that we cannot go farther back than the date of the Talmud for a really definite statement on the subject is a significant warning; and the passage itself (Bâba bâthra 14^b) represents the utmost assistance that we can derive from Jewish tradition. In this well-known section the question is definitely asked concerning the books of the Old Testament Canon: "Who wrote them?" And the answer is there given as follows:—

"Moses wrote his own book and the section concerning Balaam and Job. Joshua wrote his own book and eight verses of the Law. Samuel wrote his own book and Judges and Ruth.

David wrote the Book of Psalms, at the direction of ten elders, namely, Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph and the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his own book, and the Books of Kings and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, the Song of Songs and Qohéleth. The Men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the XII., Daniel and Esther. Ezra wrote his own book and the genealogies of the Book of Chronicles as far as himself."

Can any one suppose that we are here dealing with a piece of serious evidence? Whatever may be said of our modern treatment of the Old Testament, the most "advanced" critics amongst us have never yet put forth anything so startling and wildly improbable as this. When you remember that in the Jewish reckoning 1 and 2 Samuel form one book extending to the last years of David's reign, what can you say of the statement that makes Samuel (though he died before David came to the throne) the author of the whole work? What intelligible meaning can you attach to the theory which connects Adam, Melchizedek, and Abraham with the composition of the Book of Psalms? With a bold disregard of some rather definite statements in the books themselves, this Jewish authority anticipates our modern doubts as to Solomon's authorship of Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Qohéleth (Ecclesiastes), and without hesitation assigns them to a later age as the productions of "Hezekiah and his company". But the climax of this destructive criticism is surely reached when we find works like Ezekiel, Hosea and Amos (to say nothing of other prophets undoubtedly pre-exilic) attributed to the members of the Great Synagogue—a body whose real existence is open to grave question, and whose labours could certainly not be dated earlier than the Return, when according to Jewish tradition the Great Synagogue was first established by Ezra. If I wanted an authority for the freest possible handling of this question of authorship, I could scarcely find any wider encouragement than is furnished by this Jewish example. But the whole passage is so manifestly mere guess-work that it becomes utterly valueless as real evidence, and is

only of moment as showing that even in comparatively early times the authorship of much of the Old Testament was doubtful and uncertain, and that speculation was already busy with the problem. *The truth is that on this question the Jews possessed no historical tradition whatever worthy of serious consideration, or capable of yielding any certain results ; it is only by internal evidence, by an examination of the books themselves, that we are in any degree enabled to decide who actually wrote them.*

II.

The method of such an inquiry may be illustrated by a brief examination of the writings known to us as the prophecy of Isaiah. Traditionally the writings so designated come to us as a single book, which we commonly read and quote as forming a complete work produced by Isaiah the son of Amoz, during the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah. Does a careful consideration of the book itself justify such a view ; or must we, as modern critics tell us, modify our conception ?

1. Now, a very cursory examination will show us that the book of Isaiah, as it comes into our hands, is certainly a compilation, a gathering together of a series of separate prophecies. Even if we start with the presumption that Isaiah himself is the actual author of the whole, the form presented by his work forbids the idea of his producing it all at once, or writing it off, so to speak, at a sitting. It is a collection of prophetic utterances of different dates and delivered on separate occasions. This is often indicated by the prophet himself (see especially vi. 1, vii. 1, xiv. 28, xx. 1, etc.) ; and even where dates are not actually given in the text, the purport of the various messages frequently enables us to assign them without doubt to special events and stages of the history extending over many years. The expression which from time to time introduces new subjects, "The burden of . . ." seems also to indicate separate prophetic utterances of varying dates and occasions. Nor is the chronological order of these utterances preserved as it would naturally be in a writer producing a continuous work. After the introductory prophecy (chapters i.-v.) we go back to the original call of the

prophet (chapter vi.). Chapters vii. ff. carry us to the reign of Ahaz and the Syro-Ephraimitish war. Chapters xiii. and xiv. present the nation suffering under the Babylonish captivity, and predict the impending invasion of the Medes. Yet in chapter xiv. 28 we are back in the year that King Ahaz died. And this impression of compilation is strengthened by the fact that right in the middle of the book we come across the historical interlude (chapters xxxvi.-xxxix.) extracted, with certain verbal changes and additions, from 2 Kings. Clearly, then, the work as we now have it has passed through a process of composition or editing, at the hand of either Isaiah himself or somebody else.

The Book of Isaiah is a Compilation.

2. Moreover, the historical extract mentioned above marks a distinct break and change in the whole drift of the prophetic message. With the exception of certain isolated prophecies to be noticed presently, we find that the portions which precede the historical insertion have a very clear and definite relation to the times in which Isaiah himself lived. They deal with contemporary events and present problems, with the danger actually threatening from the Assyrian Power, with the attitude of surrounding nations—the Philistines, Moab, Ethiopia, Egypt, etc.—at the time. Each of these chapters bears the impress of coming, so to speak, red-hot from a prophet who would stir up the people to a sense of really imminent danger; as we read them we stand actually with Isaiah in the days of the kings under whom he lived. But when we turn to the portion which follows the extract from Kings, the whole scene and action of the prophecy are changed. It is no longer Assyria but Babylon that is the oppressor. The dangers which threatened in the days of Ahaz and Hezekiah have wholly passed; these later chapters deal exclusively with the Babylonian Captivity, two centuries after.

Adopting, for the sake of convenience, the symbol “A” to distinguish the prophecies which relate to the Assyrian period, and the initial “B” to mark those which deal with the Babylonian oppression, the analysis of the whole book will be as follows:—

"A" section : chapters i.-xii. ; xiv. 24 - xx. ; xxi. 11 - xxiii. ; xxviii.-xxxiii. ; and xxxvi.-xxxix. (historical).

"B" section : chapters xiii. ; xiv. 1-23 ; xxi. 1-10 ; xxiv.-xxvii. ; xxxiv. ; xxxv. ; and xl.-lxvi.

In other words, the moment we begin to examine the book it breaks into two pieces in our hands, the prophecies ranging themselves into well-defined groups under the heads of Assyria and Babylon, with a chronological gap of nearly 200 years between the events to which they refer.

The Book of Isaiah separates into two portions distinguished by difference of Subject.

3. This division becomes more marked as we take note of the method in which in each case the message is delivered. As we have said, the "A" sections all bear unmistakable marks of the age in which Isaiah lived ; the messages are for the men of the days in which he witnessed ; and even when he looks forward to the glories of the future, his anticipations are always made from the standpoint of the present. But chapters xl.-lxvi. carry us in a moment to the actual atmosphere of 200 years later. It is not merely the case of a prophet foretelling the distant future : Isaiah quite conceivably might have been inspired thus to predict the Captivity, though it lay so far ahead. But that is just what these chapters do *not* predict. The Captivity here is assumed as an accomplished fact, and is even drawing to a close ; Jerusalem and Judea have long been deserted and despoiled ; the people addressed are actually suffering at the hand of the Chaldeans ; and the whole burden of the message is a promise of speedy vengeance on the oppressor and of a glorious return. Is it reasonable to suppose that *Isaiah* would thus write to the people of his own day ? Would the messages of "B" have any reality and meaning for them ? Nay, is it consonant with what we know of God's dealing with His people to suppose that He would inspire a prophet thus to encourage beforehand a nation already for their carelessness needing the discipline of the Assyrian, and to foretell a gracious pardon, ages before either the sin or the punishment or the repentance of the Babylonish Captivity could become his-

tory? But read as a contemporary message delivered 200 years later to a persecuted people actually in exile and awaiting a speedy deliverance, the prophecy becomes at once real and intelligible.

Diversity of authorship is suggested by the difference of Standpoint in the two portions.

4. The student will then proceed to test this assumption of diverse authorship by noting the style and literary methods of the book. He will mark carefully the special words and expressions which are peculiar to either division of the work. He will realise how phrases such as "And it shall come to pass," and "In that day," which are so frequent in the "A" group, are hardly to be found in the "B" chapters; he will note, on the other hand, how many terms and expressions which are characteristic of the later prophecies are almost unrepresented in the earlier portion of the book. Nor is it merely a question of words. The marked features of Isaiah's style, his stately rhetoric, the dignity and force of his language, the terseness of his sentences, the grandeur of his conceptions, the very figures and imagery which he uses, stand in real contrast with the flowing style, the impassioned eloquence, the persuasive appealing of the later chapters; the whole method of treatment and illustration exhibits often the widest possible difference. And a careful study of the two portions will show that these differences are too numerous and weighty to be lightly dismissed as trivial or accidental. They consistently mark off the two groups of prophecies which we have already distinguished on other grounds: the special characteristics of Isaiah are found invariably in the portions which relate to Assyria, and are absent in those which refer to Babylon; while the marked features of the later chapters are conspicuously wanting in all the prophecies which are plainly connected with the events of Isaiah's own age. The differences cannot be explained, as some have attempted to explain them, by the mere change of subject; for after all the danger from Babylon is not so far removed in character from that arising earlier from Assyria as to affect a writer's whole style and method. Nor can we account for the characteristics of chapters xl.-lxvi. by assigning

them to the later years of the prophet, when his method and literary powers might have developed in new directions; for passages like xxii. 15-25, and xxix.-xxxiii., which undoubtedly belong to the end of Isaiah's life, exhibit none of the special features of the Babylonian prophecies. And the problem is not in the least met by the commentators who furnish us with long lists of words and expressions which are common to both divisions of the book. Verbal coincidences between different writers are frequent, and are easily accounted for on various grounds: it is the *differences* which are important, and mark the work of different authors. And these differences here are so numerous and well-defined that it seems impossible to conceive that they originate in a common source.

Diversity of authorship is indicated by the differences of Style in the two portions.

5. A further point of contrast depends upon our conception of the gradual development of Jewish thought. That Israel's history was marked by such a development no student of the Old Testament can doubt; though it may not always be easy to decide precisely at what stage particular truths first came into prominence and obtained a real place in current teaching and belief. But there are some well-defined religious conceptions which certainly belong, at least in anything like a full realisation, to the later stages of Jewish thought. The wider idea of God as the God and Ruler of all the nations; the Divine purpose both in the history of Israel and in that of the world at large; the prophetic office of the chosen people to bear the light before the Gentile races—these are truths which were only realised quite late in the history, and belong especially to that fuller and deeper theological outlook which distinguishes the Exilic and Post-Exilic periods. And they are just the ideas (especially the prominent one of Israel as a centre of blessing to the world) which loom large and are developed at length in the later chapters, but are absent or exist only in a rudimentary stage in the undisputed work of Isaiah. They are conceptions of which we can hardly expect to find a trace in Hezekiah's day, when

indeed they would have contradicted the whole current of Jewish aspiration; but they are exactly the ideas which moulded the teaching of the prophets of the Captivity and the Return, and would find a natural setting in a work belonging to that period. I admit frankly that such a line of argument by itself would be inconclusive. Isaiah *might* have thus anticipated by centuries the outcome of Israel's religious development, just as on some other points he is in advance of current teaching. But taken in conjunction with the evidence we have already accumulated, this *late* tone of chapters xl.-lxvi. may fairly be claimed as strongly supporting the conclusion that these prophecies really belong to the Babylonian period of Israel's training.

Diversity of authorship is emphasised by the difference of Theological Development in the two portions.

It is upon such grounds as these that even moderate critics have come to the conclusion that the book as we now have it is composite—that just as in the Hebrew Canon Ezra and Nehemiah were united under one general designation, so here under the heading of “Isaiah” are gathered together, not only the genuine prophecies of the son of Amoz, with an extract from the Book of Kings, but in the chapters dealing with the Chaldean oppression a series of later writings from another source.¹

III.

The above may serve as a brief outline of the general method by which this question of authorship is to be treated. It would lie of course beyond our present limits to consider in detail the process, or its application to other parts of the Old Testament. Modern scholarship has provided the student with abundant helps for the work, and each book of the Canon may be studied under the guidance of those who have treated fully the various points of the problem. I can here only indicate

¹ I have made no attempt here to decide how far the “B” sections represent the work of a single writer. A careful examination of the various prophecies grouped under this head will reveal characteristics which point to the conclusion that chapters xxiv.-xxvii. (almost certainly), xxi. 1-10 (probably), xiii., xiv. 1-23, xxxiv. and xxxv. (possibly) may not be the production of the same author as chapters xl.-lxvi. But in an elementary study it seems sufficient to indicate the general conditions of the problem by marking only the broad line of distinction between the portions which represent the undoubted work of Isaiah himself, and the other prophecies which on internal evidence are to be assigned to a later age.

briefly the possible results of such study, and note the bearing of such results on our view of the Old Testament as a whole.

In the first place, from the very nature of the problem, the actual results must be limited. In the absence of contemporary evidence, nothing is more difficult to decide than the authorship of ancient books. And the Jewish Canon, owing to its gradual formation and the wide range of its chronology, presents special difficulties. Much of our investigation must of necessity be tentative: the material for consideration is often so slight and fragmentary that definite conclusions are impossible. It does not seem likely that we shall ever discover who wrote books like Kings and Chronicles; and a large portion of the Old Testament—perhaps more than we are at present willing to recognise—must be marked as anonymous. In some cases, like Ezekiel and Amos, the strictest investigation serves only to confirm the traditional authorship. In other cases, like Ezra and Nehemiah, while we find large portions which seem to be the actual writings of the men themselves, the additional matter which fills the gaps and links together the narratives into a complete whole points clearly to the work of a later editor. In the study of Isaiah, as we have seen, it is hardly possible to escape the force of the considerations which have led our best modern critics to the conclusion that the book is composite—that under the name of the well-known prophet there have been grouped together the works of two, if not more, different writers. The hand of the editor or compiler must, as it seems to me, be recognised in many books which we have formerly supposed to be the work of single authors. In some cases, indeed (such as Canticles and Ecclesiastes), even what appears at first sight to be an internal claim to definite authorship must be reckoned, if the contentions of modern scholarship be of any value at all, as examples of a literary method common enough in ancient times, especially in poetical or speculative works—an author putting into the mouth of some well-known character what he conceives such an authority would have said or taught on the subject.

But when you have taken note of all this, and perhaps have

even accepted as proved much that a cautious critic would reckon only as possible or probable, have you done anything that can in the smallest degree justify the unreasoning alarm with which too often such inquiries are viewed? Is the Bible any the less God's wonderful Book because you are obliged to recognise how much of its human authorship is anonymous or doubtful? I do not mean, of course, that such inquiries and conclusions make no difference at all. Our conception of the gradual unfolding of the Divine Revelation is of necessity influenced immensely by our grasp of the real historical setting of the various books; every increase in our knowledge of the *method* of the Revelation must have a corresponding effect on our appreciation of the exact purport of the *message* thus revealed. If it were not so, Biblical study would be hardly worth the labour which it involves. But I do venture to urge that no point of real importance affecting our belief in Holy Scripture is for one moment imperilled by any inquiry we may make, or by any conclusions we may accept, as to the exact authorship of the various books. Does any one suppose that the real value and teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews is destroyed because we can no longer claim it as the work of St. Paul? So also in the Old Testament. The Inspiration (whatever be its character or degree) of Kings and Chronicles remains just the same, whether we judge them to be anonymous compilations or the work of some well-known person. The precise amount of historical accuracy to be claimed for the story of the Patriarchs remains just as it was, whether you hold the Pentateuch to have been written by Moses or by somebody else. The later chapters of Isaiah are none the less magnificent and true because we may be led by our study to read them as the utterances of a real Prophet of the Exile. It is only ignorance that imagines that the Bible is to be destroyed by a demonstration that Moses did not write Genesis. But it is equally ignorance that assumes that the Bible can only be defended by a blind insistence on points of traditional authorship that are really questionable or doubtful.

GRAINGER TANDY.

THE SPIRIT OF THE EARLY EUROPEAN MISSIONARIES: A STUDY IN ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

By THE EDITOR.

St. Luke's Gospel has a deep interest for us. It reflects the temper of the little missionary band who first won Europe for Christ. It glows with genial fire and kindly love. It is a picture of the mental atmosphere of an enterprising and devoted band which counted St. Paul and St. Barnabas, St. Luke and St. Timothy among its members. St. Paul's letters alone do not tell us all that we may learn of the spirit which animated these enthusiasts. Nay, perhaps the very purpose of those letters tends to obscure the colour of the original preaching; written as they frequently were to warn and reprove and exhort. True, they reveal the framework of his message, but they do not always show us the gentle grace with which the framework was so softly clothed. It is from St. Luke's Gospel that we learn that it was glad tidings rather than thunders which led Europe to embrace the Christian faith.

This assertion is not made at random: it is susceptible of at any rate partial proof, and this partial proof lies in the fact that St. Luke was the travelling companion and missionary partner of St. Paul, when first he entered into Europe. It is interesting to notice where the two men met and where they parted. We can trace the time they spent together with considerable certainty. It would seem that they met at Troas. Perhaps St. Luke volunteered his services as "the beloved physician," for it was about this time that St. Paul was suffering from the illness which he describes as the thorn or stake in the flesh. Some would even suggest that St. Luke was "the man from Macedonia" who came to persuade St. Paul to preach the

Gospel in Europe. At all events they met at Troas and sailed in company to Macedonia and dwelt together at Philippi. Then apparently St. Paul, when he left Philippi, also left his companion St. Luke, and it was not until after an absence of seven years that he met him again upon the same spot. From that time forth they journeyed together until St. Paul was finally committed for trial in Rome. The Apostle in his latest letter from the great city pathetically remarks that "Luke alone is with me".

Much of this we learn from the Acts. And for the purposes of this paper we assume that St. Luke wrote both the Gospel which bears his name and the Acts, which obviously form a supplement to the Gospel. In writing the Acts St. Luke is always describing what *they* did until he speaks of the vision which appeared to Paul at Troas. Then he changes the pronoun and says, "Immediately *we* endeavoured to go into Macedonia". The narrative is concerned with what *we* did until the story passes from Philippi. Thenceforward it relapses into what *they* did until the return of St. Paul to Philippi the second time. From that moment it is what *we* did until the end. It is exactly what we ourselves should do if we were recounting the incidents of a foreign tour upon which we had only journeyed a part of the whole way. We should talk about what *we* did in the places where we were present and what *they* did where we were absent.

I. THE SOURCES OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

We must turn now to the Gospel itself to notice its prominent features and to examine where if at all it differs from the other Gospels. And that we may do this the more thoroughly we must understand something about its relation to the other Gospels.

Each Gospel has its own characteristics. St. Mark is graphic and rugged; it thrusts prominently before our eyes the outstanding facts of our Lord's life, and unfolds His methods. St. Matthew is rich and rotund; its sonorous phrases have a satisfying sound, and there is reason to think that it was written

thus to adapt it for catechetical use in public worship. St. John's Gospel breathes a mystical air and lifts us to eternal realities. But when we turn to St. Luke we are struck with a literary ability which is lacking in the other three: we are struck too with a sympathy, a universality, a kindliness and a grace which have always made it the popular Gospel.

In his preface the author confides to us his aim. It is to provide Theophilus, and the class of cultured Greeks of whom he is representative, with an actual historic basis for their Christian Faith. To give an account which was not only accurate but complete. This involved the preparation of a narrative beginning earlier and continuing later than those of the other Evangelists. St. Luke starts with the Baptist as the Forerunner, and includes, in his first volume, the Ascension. He was a thorough historian and his purpose drove him, as he tells us, to collect materials from many sources, written and unwritten. As a companion of St. Paul he had splendid opportunities. He had access to St. Paul's friends and possibly to the Twelve. We may even plausibly conjecture that he gained valuable information for his early narratives from our Lord's mother or His brethren.

There is no great difficulty in recognising two main sources of his Gospel. The first is St. Mark's Gospel, or a Gospel upon which St. Mark was based. This he valued highly and used freely. In the main he modelled his own history upon it. He borrowed its very words and phrases. This may be seen with great clearness in the question put to our Lord in the Temple respecting His authority. Write the accounts according to St. Mark, St. Luke and St. Matthew side by side. Then underline in St. Mark all the words which are found in the other two. The words thus underlined read as a perfectly intelligible narrative. This similarity is due to no mere coincidence, nor is it the result of faithful remembrance of the actual words, because the *framework* in which the spoken words are set is similar. "They *reasoned* in themselves *saying*." All three writers use the same verbs "reason" and "say," and all alike remark upon the inner feeling of the antagonists. Such facts could be multiplied a

hundredfold, and they compel us to conclude that one of the many written narratives to which St. Luke refers in his preface was St. Mark's Gospel, and that from it he derived the most material help.

But St. Mark alone did not satisfy him. It was adequate for St. Mark's purpose in writing it, but inadequate as the complete historic basis of the Christian Faith which St. Luke purposed to draw up for Theophilus. The account it gave of our Lord's ministry and death was perhaps sufficient for those who gave their first enthusiastic adherence to the Gospel, but a later age and a wider circle asked for more. They wished to know something of our Lord's genealogy, birth and childhood. They wished to follow Him beyond His resurrection to His ascension and to the spread of His Gospel. It was not enough to have St. Mark's impressive picture of our Lord's personality and His method of teaching: they must know the actual content of that teaching, the actual wording of those sermons.

Consequently St. Luke, while using St. Mark as his framework, supplements it at the beginning and at the end and by wedging in here and there great sections of additional matter. He gathers materials from other sources, and welds all these stray elements into a beautiful and graceful whole.

One of the chief of these supplementary documents was in the hands of St. Matthew as well. For Matthew and Luke have in common a long string of passages which do not occur in Mark; passages alike in their structure, phrasing and wording. They are alike and yet they differ. They are so alike in their choice of similar and uncommon words that they must have drawn from a similar source. Yet they are just sufficiently different in particular points to show that they did not draw directly from one another.

This common document is lost, but we can gain some idea of its contents by picking out the parallel passages in St. Matthew and St. Luke which have no counterpart in St. Mark. It began with the Baptist's preaching: it dealt largely with the Temptation; it embodied much discourse and sermon. It may have

contained accounts of the closing scenes, and perhaps was the source of St. Luke's account of the Last Supper. It is marked by a very noticeable feature. Its author was deeply conscious that our Lord had come to effect a complete reconstitution of human life, and that this made Him constantly use paradoxical language. The poor are blessed, not the rich ; the hungry, not the full ; enemies are to be loved ; the outcast publicans, the despised Samaritans, and weak women are brought to a foremost place, while others recede. The first were to be last and the last first.

By incorporating all this, and other extra matter, St. Luke developed a rich, full narrative. But his book was in danger of becoming too large. There was probably a conventional size beyond which it was inconvenient for a volume to go. Consequently St. Luke omits many of St. Mark's redundant phrases. This accounts for the loss of numerous little touches in the narratives which he takes from St. Mark. For instance in St. Mark ii. 15, 16, notice the frequent repetition of the words "publicans and sinners," "disciples," "eateth," "many," and then notice how much more briefly the same story is told by St. Luke.

Some of the alterations show the care of a later hand, and a more exact historian. Thus where St. Mark refers to the incident of David taking the shewbread, he inadvertently says it was while Abiathar was high priest (ii. 26). A moment's reference to the Old Testament shows us that it occurred while *Abimelech* was high priest (1 Sam. xxi.). St. Luke saw the difficulty, and while he quotes St. Mark's words which come before and after the clause about Abiathar, he omits the clause itself. So too he modifies St. Mark's geographical disproportion in calling the Lake of Galilee a *sea*. To St. Luke, the traveller accustomed to the tempests of the Mediterranean, it could only be the *Lake* of Galilee. And in like manner the reverence of a later time made it impossible for one who had probably not known our Lord personally to attribute to Him such painful emotions as anger, grief, groaning or vehemence.

II. THE SPIRIT OF ST. LUKE'S GOSPEL.

The book has left its writer's hand stamped with the hallmark of a large-hearted and generous mind.

It is a joyous Gospel. It turns instinctively to the happier, brighter side of life. We can see through its cheerful pages to the optimistic spirit of the large-hearted companion of the Apostle to the Gentiles. We have hardly begun to read before we hear the Angel's song declaring "peace on earth". The writer lingers on the scenes of the birth and boyhood of Jesus. Young men are often in his thoughts. He tells us of the young son of the widow of Nain, and of the young man who said he would follow our Lord after he had first buried his father. Even the old people who enter his book are young-old people. Simeon and Anna may be bent with the load of many years, but in heart they are still young, eager with the spirit of a new age and a new hope. And listen to the joyous notes of our Lord's first public utterance in the Synagogue at Nazareth, as this Gospel records it :—

He anointed Me to preach good tidings to the poor :
He hath sent Me to proclaim release to the captives,
And recovering of sight to the blind,
To set at liberty them that are bruised,
To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

This happy note struck at the beginning runs on right to the end.

Many were the social occasions upon which our Lord was present, and many the times He accepted the hospitality which was proffered Him. His delight in the happy scenes of life shines also through His parables as we read them here. We see it in the story of the party quickly gathered to celebrate the finding of the widow's little coin, and we see it in the eager running of a father to meet his penitent boy, whom he welcomes with the well-spread supper and the merry dance.

St. Luke's is the Gospel of broad sympathies. Its writer had a kind heart. He had his eyes open for all the acts of Jesus

which breathed a liberal spirit. All the Evangelists show Jesus as the Friend of sinners, but Luke more abundantly. The very fact that he traces our Lord's genealogy back to Adam is due to his wish to show that Jesus is the blessed possession of all men, and not of Jews alone. And the same note recurs again and again. We hear it echoing behind the story of Elijah blessing the heathen woman, whose cruise of oil and handful of meal failed not during the famine. We hear it again when our Lord rebukes His disciples for their request that they might call fire from heaven upon the Samaritans. We hear it in the story of the ten cleansed lepers, of whom only one returned to render thanks to God, and he was a Samaritan. So too it is not of the "good priest" or the "good Levite" that we read, but of the "Good Samaritan".

This liberality is in marked contrast in many ways to the narrow turnings of the contemporary Jewish mind. It has no sympathy with the unfeeling tendency to ascribe special sin to those overwhelmed by sudden disaster. The poor victims of Pilate's cruelty, and the unhappy sufferers when Siloam's Tower fell, might have been exceptionally unfortunate, but our Lord will not allow that they were exceptionally sinful. And when men of the older school with conservative prejudices objected to His teaching, He generously makes excuse for them by comparing them to those who preferred old wine to new.

Furthermore, this liberality extends into a quarter where it was not always found in those early days. For no Gospel relates with such frequency, or with such kindly feeling, incidents relating to our Lord's dealings with women, and His love for domestic scenes. Of the Virgin herself we learn more than from all other sources put together. The writer lingers about the stories of Elizabeth and the aged prophetess Anna, who gave thanks to God for the Redeemer He had sent. From St. Luke alone we learn of the women who ministered to Jesus of their substance, or of Mary Magdalene as being the woman from whom Jesus cast out seven devils. He alone records the sorrow of the widow of Nain, the curing of the woman bound by Satan,

the domestic troubles of Martha and Mary, or the widow's tiny offering to the Temple treasury.

Quite in accordance with all this is the prominence which is given in this Gospel to the Divine mercy, the Divine kindness to the helpless and undeserving. It is the Gospel which tells of a father's compassion for his penitent son. And it opens our eyes to the grand results of frank forgiveness when it relates the story of the greatness of the woman's love whose many sins had been forgiven, and who bathed her Master's feet with her tears. It records the considerate plea of the prayer upon the Cross "They know not what they do". And it alone mentions our Lord's promise to the dying thief, "To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise".

Yet another characteristic of this Gospel which we would notice is its emphasis upon *prayer*. Nowhere else do we read that Jesus prayed at His baptism, that He went into the mountains to pray before He chose the Twelve, and that He ascended the Mount of Transfiguration to pray. Here too we learn the reason of the disciples' request that He would teach them to pray—they had heard Him pray. This Gospel alone records the two prayers upon the Cross, and the very parables which it relates are urgent in their admonitions to persistent prayer. It is in St. Luke alone that we read of the wayfarer whose constant knocking brought his churlish friend to the door, and of the widow whose persistency wrested tardy justice from her judge.

There is a final peculiarity which we may notice about St. Luke. He fastens the events of his Gospel to the movements which were going on in the great imperial Roman world. The enrolment which carried the Holy Family to Bethlehem was made by a decree of Augustus Cæsar, which was carried into effect while Quirinius was Governor of Syria. John the Baptist began to preach in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar. And so on. All this was not solely due to the writer's love for historic accuracy ; surely we can see in it also a determined effort to show that Christianity is something more than a little move-

ment among a little race, whose events might be marked by their local reckonings. Christianity was running into the *empire's* life, and this mode of reckoning would appeal to citizens of the empire.

When from our study of the spirit of this Gospel we turn back again and think of the man who wrote it ; when we remember his own missionary labours in partnership with the master-missionary—St. Paul himself—we find that many of the peculiar features of a very unique book are explained.

A host of ideas suggest themselves to our minds. We notice how widening to the understanding, how rejoicing to the heart, how broadening to the sympathies is the work of the progressive and compassionate missionary. There is no smallness or meanness about the writer of the Third Gospel : he had little sympathy with what was exclusively local or partial. His generous and benign nature had stolen from his heart the bitterness which so quickly breeds within us when we limit our sympathies.

We notice again that this evangelising work brought its labourers on to new ground. Oftentimes dark mists veiled their path and drove them to seek Divine guidance in their perplexity, or dangerous circumstances in which human skill and power were of scant avail made them lean upon a higher strength beyond their own. Then they learnt the need and the value of prayer. And besides the dangers of their calling they were daily confronted with new problems, or had to justify old solutions. Would God accept men of all nationalities? Would God forgive men who were doubly dyed with sin? Would God accept women as well as men? What place in the service of God was to be allotted to the younger men? Think of such questions as these, which would readily rise in the minds of men labouring in lands untouched before, and under conditions totally new. And then see if the happy solution to those questions does not breathe through the pages of the Gospel we have been examining.

When St. Luke felt the burden laid upon him to write of our Lord, what more natural than that the characteristic traits

of a progressive, unselfish mind should with greater eagerness seize upon those particular traits in the great Life, than it would have done had its sympathies been more circumscribed. The man whose hourly need called for constant prayer would treasure all that he heard of Jesus' prayer. The man who saw the Gospel winning its way among all peoples, nations and tongues would gladly record instances of our Lord's liberality. The man who had seen the Greek woman moved by His message would readily narrate those tendernesses of our Lord to the weaker sex, which others might deem less worthy of record. The man who had seen many sin-laden sons of men won by the Gospel of Christ would remember all that he had heard of his Master's teaching about the mercy of God.

In short, St. Luke's character, as moulded by his mode of life, deeply influenced him in his selection of material for his Gospel. And his book, with its gentle spirit, is a touchstone for us. How do we approach the Sacred Life? It is a day for grave questioning if we find ourselves going again to it only to fortify ourselves with weapons to combat our brethren who may disagree with us. It is a sorry day when we cease to go to it that we may become more humane, more sympathetic, more liberal, more prayerful, less contentious, less exclusive. It is the day for us to think whether we were not better employed in applying the principles of Christianity to the uncared-for world around us, than in wounding those who bear the same Name as we but walk not with us. It is the day for us to consider how St. Luke's Gospel got its broad character.

THE EDITOR.

THE PARABLE OF THE PAROUSIA.

REV. F. W. ORDE WARD, B.A.

We all agree sometimes to drop certain ancient and venerable beliefs, silently and sadly and reverently and yet without hesitation, simply because advanced religious thought has rendered them absolutely untenable. They really fall off themselves from the expanding spirit which has outlived them and outgrown them and demands new doctrines with which to clothe itself. At one time, perhaps not so very long ago, everybody accepted them, and now everybody ignores or denies them. They possessed a meaning and a message and a value yesterday, but not to-day. And the Church may not repudiate them, probably has not formally and officially rejected them and perhaps never will, because the necessity did not and will not arise. The authoritative sentence *ex cathedra* requires more serious matters and moments for its expression. Common sense, general knowledge, extended culture, mere process of time, render many dogmas obsolete. They were, they are still as landmarks or stepping-stones on the pathway of progress, unspeakably precious and beautiful, and we may reasonably regard them always with honour and respect. But we must never forget that they are not and cannot conceivably be *our* dogmas, because they are not the language of our time. We speak, we think, and are unable to help ourselves so far, quite differently. Other ages demand other doctrines. People who would retain them yet as true in the letter, know not of what spirit they are. Theology must be fluid if it would be progressive, vital, organic, religious, philosophical, and learns something fresh and something fair from every wave of every thought and not least from science, and proceeds to apply it and incorporate it in its own infinitely elastic and comprehensive system. Petrification or putrefaction inexorably results from fixed doctrines and cast-iron rules and arrested growth. Truth has nothing to fear from new discoveries and logical developments. We can only delay for a period the irresistible march of evolution, while we retard the outpouring of

richer blessings, and make the enemies of the Church more suspicious and more hostile. Obstructive methods, stupid reactions, are doomed to sterility in the end, though for a season they may cause catastrophes, and generate or degenerate into a sort of blind or blundering civil war, when faction fights against faction and the voice of Catholicity remains unhonoured and unheard. But each year obscurantists and bigots and the ignorant become fewer and feebler, and the most narrow-minded insensibly absorb revolutionary ideas and assimilate other principles, which gradually prepare the way for the reception of new facts and fuller truth. It is not that the superficial and superstitious really reason themselves out of old fallacious doctrines into something more in accordance with history and right, but fresh conceptions and broader beliefs are in the atmosphere which they breathe, and they have entered all unconsciously into the heritage of a different religious and intellectual climate. For instance, men who years ago contended fiercely for a theory of verbal inspiration, swell the ranks now of orthodox defenders of the faith, who declare its utter impossibility from any point of view.

Perhaps about no doctrine has opinion changed more than about the Second Advent. Mere efflux of time makes much criticism obsolete. Among the moderate theologians few now, if indeed any, believe in any outward and visible coming of Christ to judgment. The spiritual interpretation holds the field. The extravagances of commentators new and old on prophecy have gradually produced an inevitable rebound of the pendulum, the recoil of disgust. An end to the world has been predicted so often, from the earliest times down to the present day, and dates rashly given have received such falsification at the hand of events, that the ancient view has grown discredited because it has become ridiculous. Not many instructed persons, excepting fanatics and those led away by the fascination of theories, accept now an outward and visible Advent. Whatever the Parousia may mean, we feel sure, the vast majority of us, that it does not and cannot mean this. Such an earthly apocalypse would be, we think, physically, geographically, spiritually impossible. The

former popular notion, always preached by the late Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, as by most, that the appearance of a gigantic cross of light in the heavens would herald our Lord's approach, seems now hardly worth while rejecting. When stated, it condemns itself immediately by its own intrinsic and obvious absurdity. God does not act in such futile ways, He never did and never will. A severe parsimonious method reveals itself in all the eloquent machinery of the Divine government. In His economy of things we find God invariably obtaining the greatest effects at the least possible expenditure. The world is not a stage, nor an arena of work with theatrical accessories thrown in as though to please an audience. Besides, the chief and most efficient producing powers remain out of sight, behind the scenes. They are spiritual and not material energies. In our Saviour's eschatological discourses we have pictures and not principles, metaphor and not matter of fact. The end of that dispensation, the destruction of Jerusalem, the revolutionary results of the new teaching and the inauguration of the new kingdom in the hearts and minds of men, are all mingled together for wise purposes. Christ could only present the truth in the vehicle of illusion or inadequate conception. As He said plainly and plaintively, *I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.* But this differs, by the whole breadth of morality, from delusion or false conception. Speaking to Orientals, with their fondness for figures, He was obliged to speak symbolically or not at all. The full force of the spiritual dispensation and spiritual dynasty, into which the new Christian age was entering, could not be grasped directly and could not stand out in its ultimate and innermost significance, till the old-fashioned ideas had grown antiquated and died a natural death. This required lapse of time, education and a process of tedious discipline. Knowing, as we do, that our Lord preferred for didactic uses the form of parables, we know also that we need not take literally any of His pronouncements, when by so doing we discover that they conflict with reason or common sense or the fundamental doctrines of His own cardinal tenets. For hearers accustomed to pageants

and shows, no more appropriate shape than that of a spectacle could have been selected for His discourses on such ineffably solemn subjects. The new era would be and must be essentially catastrophic in its effects, which might be either sudden and violent, or by degrees, but in both cases could not but be subversionary. So naturally He spoke of *tribulation*, and *the sun darkened*, and He said, *The moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken*. Both worlds would feel the stupendous change, the upheaval of human nature, in the complete shifting of the whole mental and moral axis. *The sign of the Son of Man in heaven, the coming in the clouds . . . with power and great glory*, and the mission of the *angels with a great sound of a trumpet*, are all so many mere figures of speech, such as appealed to Eastern fancy and closely resembling the imagery of the prophets in the Old Testament. To construe them literally would be assuredly a serious blunder. Nobody now supposes for a moment that, because Christ quoted the story of Jonah and the whale, He intended to convey the impression that He accepted it as a truth. He simply used it as an illustration familiar to His audience. Of course our Saviour employed the materials at hand, ready for His purpose and the common property of all. It would not have helped His ministry or been consistent with the plan He proposed, to wrangle like a school divine or argue critically like a modern professor. The times were not ripe for such methods. The suggestion, however slight, of any doubts could hardly have been conducive to the salvation of souls. The analytical and destructive processes would come later, when education and reflection had prepared people to entertain them and appreciate them at their proper value. But as soon as we recognise the fact that Christ always or usually clothed His spiritual lessons in a parabolic vesture, we shall perceive that the Church's early notion of an outward and visible Parousia or Second Advent in history rests on no sufficient basis. The mistake cannot be called unnatural when the wish was father of the thought. The terrible persecutions of the primitive Brotherhood easily found their cure

and compensation in the vision of a vast approaching deliverance. Had there existed no word in the Scriptures to justify such a presumption, we may be certain that the early Christian, in the shadow of a perpetual martyrdom, would have invoked such a forcible intervention in order to redress the balance of things in their favour. Their faith must have created an earthly redemption in time of this very sort. God, they felt, must vindicate His honour and assure the triumph of the Gospel, and how could this be done better than through an invasion and descent of all the armies of heaven? Disciples all the world over and from the first have been unable to resist the temptation of dwarfing and narrowing universal precepts or principles to special instances, and making local and temporary catholic and eternal doctrines. Nor were the early Christians any exceptions to the general rule. Groaning under the pressure of particular circumstances and personal sufferings, for their own consolation and the encouragement of converts who otherwise might have stood aloof, they devised a relief and refuge entirely out of their own consciousness, which pleased the imagination, salved their wounded feelings and rescued what looked like a forlorn situation from the iron grip of apparent extremity.

This explanation seems the simplest manner of emancipation from an embarrassing difficulty, not to say a desperate *impasse*. It hardly improves the case to assume that our Lord as Man was not aware Himself of what He spoke about, even with the full benefit of the quotation, *But of that day and that hour knoweth no man—no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father*. For purposes of revelation and teaching, unquestionably our Lord could not and did not know this. But in this way it is obvious that all prophets must often be profoundly ignorant of facts with which they are the best acquainted. Times and seasons and single instances undoubtedly fall outside the broadest and most catholic instruction. The spiritual as spiritual knows nothing of place and periods, because it is eternal. It is not a matter of dates or passing doctrines, but of destiny and universals. And the language of the apostolic writers must

not be pressed to suit preconceived theories or popular mistakes, and cannot be squeezed into moulds of rigid meaning. Sometimes it seems limited or defined and again it confronts us as plainly figurative. But though we find the Parousia connected with the vision of judgment, we find it still more closely connected with ultimate salvation and susceptible of a purely spiritual interpretation, and not merely future but present. *Behold, the Judge standeth before the door.*

Whether the inspired writers believed themselves at first in the immediateness of the Second Advent or not, we cannot be positive, though most modern commentators hold the view that they expected an early return of their Master. But the passages in support of a spiritual redemption and no other are, to say the least, quite as numerous as those that appear and appear only perhaps to contradict them. The *locus classicus* usually cited as a conclusive argument in favour of a future material Parousia, 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17, does not necessitate an elucidation *au pied de la lettre*. It falls with the utmost facility under the same category as that which includes the Lord's own eschatological address. Angels and clouds and voices and trumpets, as well as the palms and crowns and harps and thrones and white garments of the last book in the Bible, constitute naturally and obviously the appropriate materials of apostolic visions. No self-respecting commentator now could take literally the wings and the lamps of fire and the *four beasts full of eyes within*, which we meet in the Apocalypse that revealed mainly by what it concealed. In attempting to describe the invisible world, the writers though assuredly inspired, were severely limited by the fact that Jesus had said little or nothing about it. Accordingly they drew on a common stock of poetic Oriental metaphor and machinery. They possessed no alternative. They had to translate eternal realities and spiritual truths into some intelligible characters. And therefore they employed the imagery to which the prophets and others had accustomed the Hebrew mind. They used an earthly medium for heavenly mysteries. Whatever the evangelists and apostolic authors thought themselves, and their own beliefs are of little consequence so far to us now, we can see clearly in the

light of present knowledge and historical perspective and the proportion of the faith, that the ultimate impression intended to be produced in and on us by the Holy Ghost that guided them—for *holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost*—was the very reverse of a temporal and local and earthly Second Advent. To all who read the records dispassionately, unbiassed by any prejudice, it seems as certain as it possibly can be in matters of speculative and spiritual bearing, that the Parousia is a process with an eternal import and not a past epoch or future event. We need not regard it as a survival of the Messianic hope, restated and reapplied to suit the requirements of the period,—we need not conjecture that it was a sort of beautiful Divine deception deliberately imposed by Christ on the apprehensive hearts of His first followers to comfort them, just as we soothe and satisfy children with wonderful fairy tales—we need not confine its message to the destruction of Jerusalem and the closing thereby of the old Jewish dispensation. St. Paul, with his teaching of the present union and communion of the believer with Christ, must have shaken to its foundations the rude, crude fallacious conviction of an imminent Parousia in a definite place and a definite time. And the subsequent doctrines of St. John's Gospel could not fail to complete the good work and establish at last, though by tedious and protracted degrees, on an adequate basis the exact position of the great truth.

The key to the whole interpretation of the whole matter lies in the sublime declarations of the Fourth Evangelist. *It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart I will send Him unto you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto Myself, that where I am there ye may be also. I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you.* In a human body it was impossible that the Lord should operate on the souls of men in all the full energy of His Divine power. And the flesh to that extent was a veil and even a hindrance. It had to be withdrawn from contact with the senses that the Personality in which we realise our own and complete ourselves might be

spiritually revealed as an indwelling and effectual Presence. St. John, or the writer of the Gospel, does undoubtedly talk of times and places, but vaguely and mystically. And it would be torturing his spacious expression and boundless thoughts to read into them any mere material notions. He looks before and after, but never ties himself or his teaching down to narrow limits. Instructed by the Spirit, he lives in the Spirit and speaks in the Spirit. It devolved upon him to anticipate the ultimate doctrines of the Christian Church. Whatever he saw, he saw immediately and directly *sub specie aeternitatis*, or under the form of eternity. He was a "God-intoxicated man". And his words, in their infinite suggestiveness, seem less like words than like *semina aeternitatis*, or seeds of eternity. If nothing else testified to his inspiration, we might well be content with his numerous records of Christ's one characteristic final appeal—the *argumentum ad personam*, or the personal argument. *I am the Way, the Truth and the Life*. He speaks of the Second Advent and the Judgment as present facts.

When we proceed to examine the contents of the Parousia, or the perpetual Spiritual Advent of our Saviour in the perpetual communication of His Presence, we find two permanent elements inextricably associated and interfused. These are salvation and judgment. We cannot separate them without doing violence to the ideas and the unity which they represent. They compose two sides of one everlasting fact and infinite process. *Mercy and Truth are met together, Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other*. The starting-point of almost every error and every schism or heresy, history tells us, has usually been the division of these elemental factors, the rupture of the Divine dualism. *What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder*. It is the unceasing interaction of these two grand constituents that determines the course of the Cross, shakes the adverse forces of the world, and eventually builds up the Christly character upon which the Church rests and by which it moves and grows. *And mercy rejoiceth against* (or triumphs over) *judgment*. The supreme power of the Atonement resides in the unutterable Love thereby revealed, but it

is not a Love that remains a substitute for ours or supersedes our own efforts. Manifesting itself pre-eminently as a principle of action, as a driving force, as a dynamic idea, it rules essentially in the kinetic region of conduct. Motives come to it for renewal and sanctification, to be moralised and spiritualised again through and through. But this marvellous Love, while it saves us in the only proper sense of completing us and relating us consciously to God, also and thereby judges us, because it erects a new standard which regulates and resolves our behaviour for the future. It is an ideal, unapproachable, and thence more intimately and exquisitely real in its preaching of nothing less than perfection. But what condemns us so much as an exalted standard, of which we are ever falling infinitely short? *For we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God.* And so the Parousia, which presses on us the nails of Christ's Cross, in the act of redemption condemns us as miserable failures, but only to gather us up into the completeness of Christ Himself. *For in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. And ye are complete in Him.* One of the most treacherous and deadly untruths of our time is the doctrine that when we have been once "saved" in conversion, we are removed from all fear of any further judicial sentence. Teachers of this quote what does not help them in the very least degree, simply because it does not apply to the point. *There is therefore no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit.* Yes, but those leading such a life to the best of their ability would be the first to feel the constant judgment of the Parousia, and to recognise in their highest religious attainments defects and corruption. The greater the saint, the more he realises himself as a sinner. When the voice of judgment has died away in the soul, we may be sure that the endless work of redemption has also ceased. Each testifies to the other and each supplements the other. For the Saviour and the Judge are one, and unless we hear the witness of both, we cannot really know either aspect of Christ's character. He impresses Himself in us, as we express ourselves by Him and in the life of His Holy Spirit.

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THE TREATMENT OF DOGMA IN OUR TEACHING AND PREACHING.

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There is, I suppose, no word which has a more unpleasant sound to modern ears than that of dogma. It suggests to many minds all that is painfully narrow, ignorant, antiquated, intolerant and unreasonable.

There are two reasons at least for this.

1. The first reason is that the *odium theologicum* which so often marks dogmatic controversies is regarded by the average man as the product of dogma, instead of being a product of the unregenerate human heart.

2. The second reason is "the passing of conviction". This is due to the extraordinary increase in knowledge attained during the last two generations. But increase in knowledge has a negative as well as a positive result. It leads not only to the acquisition of new truths but also to the rejection of many views which were formerly regarded as true. And as a result of this negative action, almost all old statements of truth are viewed with suspicion; and what is more, many who have held views which they have afterwards abandoned as discredited, have impatiently or despairingly assumed the attainment of truth in those departments at least is an impossibility. The effect upon old-established beliefs which the modern advance in knowledge has produced is well expressed in the following paragraph:—

"We have looked towards the earth on which we live, and have found the proofs of an antiquity so vast that the age of man has shrivelled into insignificance. We have looked towards the heavens and our eyes have seen myriad multitudes of worlds in the processes of making. We have looked towards man and the long history of man, and the vision of a golden age has vanished; historical criticism has exposed the absurdities of literal inspiration; comparative mythology has explained the myth and the

miracle ; sociology has presented a vision of nations, races and civilisations growing, declining, dying ; and science, supreme disillusioner, has revealed in man, who thought himself heaven-descended, the mark of the ape—in man, who believed himself free, the product of the twin despotism of heredity and environment.”

The age is one of shaking—such as the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of—a shaking of the heaven and the earth, an age too of “the removing of those things that are shaken . . . that those things which cannot be shaken may remain” (Heb. xii. 27, A.V.).

Such being the circumstances and temper of the age the teaching of dogmatic Christianity is an exceedingly difficult and unpopular matter. Yet to teach it is necessary for the salvation of individuals and communities in the widest sense of that term. It is true that we have an example of St. Charles Lamb, a most undogmatic saint, and of St. Jerome, a most dogmatic one, and that this age regards the former as infinitely more Christlike than the latter ; nevertheless any man who will take long and broad views must acknowledge that the case of Charles Lamb is exceptional. History has not yet shown us that morality can exist for long among the generality of men without a dogmatic religious basis. Hence, if we desire the moral and spiritual development of mankind we must in our teaching maintain a dogmatic religious basis, and of all such bases I assume that the Christian one is the best, for Christianity is the only religion in the world that is “in time” with modern progress ; it alone of all religions has the world view. And of all authoritative forms of Christian dogmatic teaching, that one which appeals most to us is to be found in the formularies of our Prayer Book. These formularies the compilers of the Prayer Book claimed were based upon the teaching of Holy Scripture, a claim which they have proved themselves well able to sustain.

Now when we examine the dogmas in these formularies we find that we can divide them roughly into three classes. I emphasise the word “roughly” because reflection will show that some of them can be placed in two or even three classes accord-

ing to the point from which they are viewed. The threefold classification of dogma which I should adopt is as follows :—

1. Spiritual dogmas.

These are the axiomatic truths of the spiritual life, and from the logical point of view they are incapable of demonstration. Such are the dogmas that God is our Father, that God is love, and light and truth. In the same class I should place the dogma that Jesus Christ is the Divine Logos, the express image in character and will of the Father. The dogma that the Holy Spirit is the regenerator, illuminator and comforter of mankind, especially of them who are of the household of the faith. The dogma of a future life (one aspect of this will include the resurrection of Jesus Christ) and of eternal judgment.

2. Historical dogmas.

These rely for their proof upon historical evidence primarily. Such are the dogmas of the Virgin birth, Christ's miracles, the descent into Hades (as our evidence for this depends altogether upon written statements), the resurrection and ascension viewed as physical not as spiritual facts. The outpouring of the *χαρίσµατα* of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

3. Scholastic dogmas.

These consist of hermeneutical and philosophical decisions. Their validity depends upon the soundness of the method used in their investigation. Under this head would come the dogmas of the Trinity in unity and the unity in Trinity, original sin, the nature of the sacraments, theories of the atonement, predestination, free-will, etc.

I do not claim that this classification is absolutely accurate, and it is very far from complete, but I think it serves to emphasise a real distinction in our Church dogmas. This will be more evident when we have examined these classes a little more closely.

When we examine the first class, which consists of dogmas of supreme importance, I think we see that they have two characteristics.

(a) They are immediately perceived to be true by the spiritual nature, unless that nature be blinded by self-conceit and loveless-

ness and sensuousness. They are like the Platonic ideas, the human soul recognises them to be true at once, and when once they have been perceived, they can never be totally forgotten. They are

Truths which wake to perish never,
Which neither listlessness nor mad endeavour
. . . Nor all that is at enmity with joy
Can utterly abolish or destroy.

These truths are the great heritage of our religious evolution, they are the refined gold which humanity has gained by that long and painful and providential process of development. They are essential to all sure and high, moral and spiritual progress. Without them mankind must fall back again into the gulf of sensualism, materialism and superstition from which it has partly emerged.

(b) The second mark of these dogmas is that they can be proved experimentally. Their proof is reached through life not through logic. *Solvitur ambulando, operando, vivendo*—and not otherwise.

The teachings of Ritschl, the pragmatism of our English philosophers, the writings of the American Prof. Henry James all seem to emphasise this fact. By being convinced of this, it does not follow that I “vilify reason,” which as Bishop Butler has said “is the candle of the Lord within us,” but simply that I refuse to vilify the reality of my moral and spiritual emotions. Though the fact that these great central truths of the Gospel can only be adequately proved by the test of experience is especially the message of Christian teachers to this age, it is nevertheless one which has always been known to the saints.

Mr. Inge’s *Christian Mysticism* leaves no doubt as to that fact. But I shall not go to one who was a mystic to illustrate and emphasise this point. Richard Baxter, the Puritan Divine, in his *Reasons for the Christian Religion* (vol. xx., p. 163), thus writes: “If the tempter should persuade a believer to doubt whether the Gospel be true, he may have recourse into his soul for a testimony of it; thence he can tell the tempter by experience that he has found the promises of this Gospel made good to him. Christ hath there promised to send His spirit into the souls of

His people, and so He hath done by me ; He hath promised to give light to them that sit in darkness and to guide their feet into the way of peace ; to bind up the broken-hearted, and set at liberty the captives ; and all this He hath fulfilled upon me. . . . The help which He promised in temptations, the hearing of prayer, the relief in distress, all these I have found performed ; and therefore I know that the Gospel is true." If you analyse these experiences of Baxter, I think you will see that they rest upon the truth of the dogmas which I have placed in Class 1. Now these are the dogmas which it is supremely necessary to treat in sermons and to treat from this idealistic and experimental point of view, and as you teach them with conviction, simplicity and love, you will cause the flowers of the spiritual life to bloom on all sides.

We now pass to the second class of dogmas which deal with historical facts. The treatment of these immediately brings us face to face with the difficult problems of lower or textual criticism, of higher or literary criticism, and of historical criticism.

The problems of lower criticism are pretty well solved unless some new codices of the Gospels or of other early Christian literature should be discovered. The problems of the second class we are perhaps half way through with.

The battles of the near future will centre round the third. This is Canon Sanday's opinion. Now, except the death of Christ and the presence of the *χαρίσματα* in the Apostolic Church, there is hardly one of these remaining historical dogmas which, whatever our personal convictions may be as to its truth, is regarded by historical students as resting on incontrovertible historical evidence.

What then are we to do in our sermons with these dogmas, especially if it should be our lot to minister to an educated and highly intelligent congregation? I will mention first of all four things we must not do.

1. We must not be silent. If we belonged to that class whom the poet describes :—

Achilles ponders in his tent, the kings of modern thought are dumb,
Silent they are but not content, they wait to see the future come,
Silent while thoughts engrave the brow,
Silent—the best are silent now—

if, I say, we belonged to that class—"holding no form of creed but contemplating all"—we could afford to adopt their attitude, in fact it would be our wisdom to do so; but we cannot. Our Church festivals come round and then at least, if not on many other occasions, our people expect us to treat these dogmas in our sermons. Silence with regard to them then would produce a painful sensation. So then we must not be silent.

2. We must not treat them in the tentative and extremely critical fashion which marks their treatment by our most brilliant scholars in England and Germany and America. To treat them in that way would be worse than useless. It would mean discrediting them immediately in the eyes of any ordinary congregation. It would mean the raising of all sorts of doubts in their minds which they had until then never dreamt of.

3. We must not use merely conventional language about them. We must not preach what we do not really believe about them because we think that our people expect it, and that it will soothe and comfort them, and somehow do them good as it seems to have done in days gone by. This warning is hardly necessary. Still, as it is a possibility that some might offer this solution of the difficulty, I feel justified in referring to it.

4. We must not treat them in our sermons with the somewhat ignorant assurance and, may I say it, robustious materialism with which the preachers of the Christian evidence sermons of some years ago treated them.

We must carefully read the best books on these subjects—not books of the kind which claim to cover the whole range of Christian evidences in some three hundred or four hundred pages—but books by our best modern scholars dealing very fully with but one point. Prof. Ramsay's books are a good example of this class. We must try to realise what the objections to these dogmas are, as well as the evidence in their favour. We shall thus approach them with a much broader view and a much more serious apprehension of the problems among which we are moving than any of our congregation are perhaps aware, and I think we should not let them know it in the pulpit, though in private in the case

of a man who has difficulties in his faith it may not be amiss to let him see that a thoughtful and well-read clergyman has from the intellectual point of view more reasons for being a sceptic than many of his parishioners. But there are two positive rules which we ought to observe in the treatment of these dogmas in the pulpit.

The first is this. Carefully distinguish between what is essential and what is not essential in the dogma. All parts of it are not of equal value, any more than all parts of the Bible. Let us take first for example the dogma of Christ's resurrection.

The essential part in that dogma is that Christ's personality survived death and that He in some mysterious way convinced His Apostles of that fact, and that in so impressive a fashion that they apparently staked the destiny of their lives upon it.

The way in which Christ survived death and the means by which He communicated the fact of His survival to His Apostles is not of the essence of the dogma of the resurrection. Now, when we come to examine the evidence adduced for the resurrection, we find that it is exceedingly strong for the essential part of the dogma, but comparatively weak and certainly conflicting for the non-essential part. Now, suppose that in your sermon you mistake the non-essential for the essential part. The probable effect of your sermon will be this, that you have weakened the hold of the dogma *as a whole* on the minds of some of the more logical and thoughtful of your congregation. An example of this occurred lately in the case of one of the most spiritual, earnest and eloquent of the teachers of our Church—I refer to the Bishop of London. A writer of sensational fiction argued in a story of his that if it could be proved that after His crucifixion Christ's material body was not resuscitated, that then the dogma of Christ's resurrection would be disproved, and the Church would collapse, and our moral standards would be lowered, and anarchy would ensue, and the Turks would again besiege Vienna, and so on. And this remarkable production appeared everywhere with the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of London, and with I believe disastrous results to the faith of many. Not long

ago I saw a newspaper paragraph in a leading provincial journal opening thus: "The dear good Bishop of London who believes that if the physical resurrection of Jesus Christ were disproved the moral standards of all Europe would disappear," etc.

I do not like selecting the Bishop of London as the *corpus vile* on which to demonstrate my point, but no other case that I can think of would be nearly so impressive. Also I should not wish you to think, as that would weaken what I am saying, that I do not believe in the physical resurrection of Jesus Christ. I do believe in it as set forth in the Fourth Gospel, as interpreted by Mr. Latham in that delightful book of his, *The Risen Master*. But I do think it most unwise to stake the truth of the resurrection upon a special theory of it, especially where the evidence is conflicting. So I would say if you are going to nail your colours to the mast, and there is need to do so at times, be careful you nail them to a sound mast, the very best mast you have. I will touch on one other dogma for it has been very much in evidence of late. I refer to the Virgin birth. I think that a careful survey of the historical evidence for it, unless one be a slave to Hume's axiom, leaves the impression on one's mind that it is of such a quality that it may not be neglected. In fact, I should feel that I was doing an unscientific thing if I did neglect it. A strict application of the scientific method sternly forbids one to refuse to admit facts, or what look very much like facts, even though one may be quite unable to explain them, or bring them under any physical law with which one is acquainted. It is true that Herr Lobstein, Mr. Beeby and many others regard the evidence as unconvincing, though I am disposed to think that they are influenced by other considerations than purely historical ones in their investigation of this dogma. The presuppositions with which any one approaches the investigation of these historical problems have often greater weight than the facts investigated in producing the verdict. But this is the important point. Many Churchmen of eminence have spoken as though the Virgin birth were essential to the Incarnation, and that if we did not believe the first dogma we could not believe the second. Reflection

should surely suggest that such a fact as the Incarnation can hardly in the nature of things be dependent upon any single physical process. In fact, as you know, the original Nicene Creed had in it no reference to the Virgin birth, not because the Nicene Fathers did not believe in it, but because, as I think, it is not an integral part of the dogma of the Incarnation. My first rule then would be this. Distinguish carefully between the essential and the non-essential portions of these historical dogmas—unless you adopt a strong position, and it is only the essential part of these dogmas that you can feel absolutely sure of, you will do more harm than good—and then put all your emphasis on that essential part.

My second rule would be this. Use these dogmas only for the moral and spiritual teaching that can be drawn from them. When you use them in that way I think that you will find that the great bulk of the moral and spiritual teaching is to be obtained from the essential not from the non-essential part of the dogma. To refer again for illustration of this to the Virgin birth.

All the strongest attacks to my mind on this dogma have been made from the moral and spiritual side, for at first sight it seems to make Christ's humanity different from ours and so takes away some of the likeness between Christ and His brethren and so is calculated to reduce, if people were logical, the influence in the way of encouragement and example which the dogma of the Incarnation exerts. I am not concerned to answer this objection now, but you can see that it is an objection and that it arises out of the non-essential, not the essential part of the dogma of the Incarnation. Now, if you only use those aspects of these historical dogmas which contain deep moral and spiritual lessons you will probably escape altogether the temptation to treat the non-essential aspects of them. By so teaching you will on the one hand be directly assisting the spiritual life of your people, and on the other hand you will not be bringing under their notice points of view which only increase the difficulties of faith for them in a difficult age.

The Apostle speaks of rightly dividing the word of truth

(ὁρθοτομοῦντα τὸν λόγον, 2 Tim. ii. 15). This would be a case for the exercise of this injunction.

But if I may say a word on the other side. Do not think because these non-essential dogmas or aspects of dogma have not any marked spiritual lessons for this age that they have not had such for ages that are past or may not have such for ages which are yet to come. What Bishop Butler said of certain passages of Holy Scripture may also be true of these aspects of dogma. He says that it is highly probable that passages of Scripture which have but little meaning or none for his own age may yet as the result of diligent investigation—"the comparing and pursuing by particular persons of intimations in Scripture which had been overlooked or disregarded by the generality, or as the result of the passage of events in the outer world—yield much instruction for the men of some future generation". Or as one has remarked commenting on this thought of Butler's, "There may be passages in the Bible whose full meaning is not yet discovered, and which are reserved to quell some future heresy, or resolve some yet unformed doubt, or confound some error which hath not yet a name". Therefore, one would not wish them to be cut out of our formularies, but on the other hand it would be a mistake to use them without some very definite spiritual purpose. It is not because a dogma is in the Creed that therefore you must preach on it, any more than you must preach on a text because it is Holy Scripture. Else the rebuke passed on her minister by a critical Presbyterian woman may *pari passu* be some day applied to you, "If there is an ill text in the Bible, he is aye sure to tak' it".

We pass now to the third class of dogma—scholastic dogmas. These dogmas are dogmas in the more technical sense of the term. They are decisions, judgments, decrees, given as to the right view, the true interpretation of certain facts—historical, moral and spiritual.

It is these particular dogmas which often produce most difficulty and rouse most opposition on the part of educated laymen.

Our branch of the Church has fortunately been somewhat

less lavish in the promulgation of them than many other religious bodies, as may be seen by comparing our formularies with the Tridentine Decrees or with the Westminster Confession. In the days when the plenary verbal inspiration of Scripture was generally believed, these dogmas, inasmuch as they were for the most part based upon the interpretation of certain scriptural texts—in fact were often little more than logical deductions from logical deductions from them—were more susceptible of defence than they are to-day, when the whole system of biblical interpretation has been revolutionised by criticism. But the questions for us to consider with regard to them are these :—

1. Are we to treat them in our sermons or not ?
2. Are we to treat them as absolutely authoritative or not ?

In answer to the first I should say, where they are purely speculative or almost purely so, like the doctrine of predestination, ignore their existence. Time spent on them will be wasted (or at any rate it could be spent far better) and your people and you might thereby acquire a habit of useless speculation. You remember that Milton makes the fallen angels in hell, in the little leisure they have from their occupation of warring with heaven and tempting man, occupy themselves with the discussion of such subjects as " Providence, foreknowledge, will and fate, fixt fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute " (*Paradise Lost*, bk. ii., 560). And Longfellow in his *Golden Legend* shows us the result of such speculations at Salerno—" A land of wranglings and of quarrels, of brains that seethe, and hearts that burn "—and makes Satan declare in language which I think is worth remembering :—

As long as the boastful human mind
Consents in such mills as these to grind,
I sit very firmly on my throne ;
Of a truth it almost makes me laugh
To see men leaving the golden grain
To gather in piles the pitiful chaff.

But to answer the second question. Are we to treat the remaining dogmas as absolutely authoritative or not ?

Personally, I feel quite unable to regard them as absolutely authoritative. To regard them as absolutely authoritative seems

to me to involve as a logical necessity a belief in the infallibility of the Church.

Now I cannot bring myself to believe in the infallibility of the Church, still less in any single portion of it. But I do believe in its inspiration, which is a very different matter. To regard these scholastic dogmas as infallible seems to me to be contrary to the principles of the Reformation and also of sound reason. Our Article xxi., speaking of the authority of General Councils, declares that "forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God, they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God," and Article xix. declares that the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch and Rome have erred in matters of faith, and now let me supplement this by a quotation from the judicious Hooker (*Ecc. Pol.*, bk. ii., ch. vii., par. 6).

He writes: "Now it is not required, nor can be exacted at our hands, that we should yield unto anything our assent, than such as doth answer the evidence which is to be had of that we assent unto. For men to be tied and led by authority as it were, with a kind of captivity of judgment, and though there be reason to the contrary not to listen unto it, but to follow like beasts the first in the herd, they know not nor care not whither, this were brutish. Again, that authority of men should prevail with men either against or above reason is no part of our belief. 'Companies of learned men,' be they never so great and reverend, are to yield unto reason; the weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the simplicity of his person which doth allege it, but being found to be sound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary must of necessity stoop and give place."

But because these dogmas are not infallible and so have not absolute authority, have they therefore no authority at all? May they be lightly discarded? May they be treated with contempt? Not so.

Authority is of various kinds; it is of various degrees; it rests on various sanctions.

There is the authority of law—legislative enactment. This

is concerned with overt acts, and except in the most tyrannous states it cannot extend to men's thoughts, though it may take cognisance of their utterances. Then there is the authority of learning and intellectual power, the authority of a Hooker, of a Butler, of a Lightfoot, and in proportion as we have some little learning, so will such authority weigh heavily with us.

Then there is the authority of holiness. The authority of a mind attuned to the influence of the Holy Ghost, a mind which hears the still small voice of the Spirit speaking through its own self-consciousness—the authority of an Isaiah, of a St. Paul, of a Madame Guyon.

Again there is the authority of love. The authority of a father, a mother, a husband, a wife, a beloved ruler—an authority which in certain circumstances it shocks our whole moral consciousness to put aside. Now these remaining scholastic dogmas have a good deal of this kind of authority attaching to them.

Church councils have enacted them, inspired men have preached them, learned men have supported them, holy men have lived in them, martyrs have died for them. We shall therefore give them our respectful attention, our prayerful consideration before we reject or refute them. But we cannot undertake to regard them as absolutely and eternally true, simply because they have the support of this authority. But though we may not regard them as absolutely and eternally true, it does not follow of necessity that we must regard them as untrue, and teach others so. There is a middle course, and for those whom we have to teach who are troubled in conscience, it may be well to put it forward.

For example, take the Nicene interpretation of the mystery of the Trinity, or the Chalcedonian decision as to the relation of the manhood to the Godhead in Christ. Now I may, I think, both honestly and reasonably adopt this attitude towards these dogmas and others of a like kind. I do not think that human beings in their present state have any faculties for making absolute decisions of this kind. Insufficient data, mental and moral imperfections, all prevent it being done with certainty. I do not feel at all assured that infinite mystery is a legitimate sphere for the exercise of

scholastic logic. However, if these objections are not really operative, then I accept the Nicæno-Chalcedonian interpretation of the Church on these points in preference to those of Sabellius, Arius, Apollinarius, Eutyches and all that brood (*cf.* Lotze's *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, p. 167).

This I think is a justifiable and wise attitude to adopt in our teaching. It means that we accept these dogmas as relatively true. Above all we accept them as true because of the moral and spiritual value which they possess in contrast to all other solutions offered.

So in treating these dogmas in your sermons I should always advise you to teach them *historically*. Trace the rise of the dogma, show what opinions were current at the time, explain why and how the Church decided as she did, and most of all the spiritual and moral results which flowed and still flow from such a decision. Of course there are many other scholastic dogmas which have not such weight in their favour as those I have just mentioned, they I conceive may be treated with less respect. In the providence of God our reformers did not burden us with very many of these, but it is absurd to think that some or many or all of them should not be open to restatement.

Our dogma of scriptural interpretation has been restated in practice at least, so also of election, so also of eternal punishment, so also of "the resurrection of this flesh". Many attempts have been made in the case of the doctrine of the atonement, and if I recollect rightly Archdeacon Wilson, in his Hulsean lectures, asserts that the restatement of it contained in his book will in fifty years' time be the view generally accepted. To deny the possibility of our restating Church dogmas is absurd. It is to deny the presence of the Holy Spirit in the Church of this age. It is to deny the continued spiritual, moral and mental evolution of humanity.

I hold that through the ages an increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the circle of the suns.

Shall the decisions of fallible men of any one age bind the Church for all succeeding ages? Shall our decisions bind absolutely

those that come after us? Can we not trust the Holy Spirit? Can we not trust the *anima humana naturaliter Christiana*? If we can, then there is nothing to fear, nothing to lose, but everything to gain by admitting frankly, freely, cordially, that dogma can and must in many cases be restated and that it is part of our privilege, trusting in the guidance of the Holy Spirit, to restate it—not for all time but for the needs of the men of our own age. But we can only do this if we are Christian men; if we are not, any restatement that we may make will probably be a mere shallow rationalism. I will conclude this very long paper with, as I think, a most suggestive quotation from Bishop Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace* (p. 5 f.). The thought suggested by it should "put us both in hope and fear". The Bishop is speaking of the study of the Church's history. He says: "In pursuing this great design the student must be prepared for an inevitable difficulty. It is a natural and an unconscious prejudice that the past is longer and more important than the future. We know that in ordinary experience, when we are travelling from one spot to another between sunrise and sunset, at every step we take the past part of that day grows longer and the future part shorter. We imagine that the course of human life as a whole is like this; and though we do not know at what part of the day our own life falls, we seem bound to reflect, in accordance with the general teaching of Holy Scripture, that every minute we are farther from the dawn and nearer to the hour of sunset. Then, again, the great trouble and long expense of time which a study of history involves, and the certainty that we ourselves shall die before many years are past, impress us with the fulness of bygone years. The future looks short before us, unless we make a very serious effort to overcome the prepossession. . . . But for all that, it is a duty to remind ourselves from time to time that there is a future for the Church, possibly on this earth (I should even say probably) and certainly in the ages of eternity, which will be infinitely larger and broader in its scope than the past with all its glory has been."

HENRY D. A. MAJOR.

REVIEWS.

Silanus the Christian.¹ By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. In the preface Dr. Abbott says, "The vast majority of the worshippers of Christ base their worship to a very large extent—as the author did in his early youth under the cloud of Paley's *Evidences*—on their acceptance of His miracles as historical facts". "Such worshippers if their worship is really genuine—that is to say, if it includes love, trust and awe carried to their highest limits and not merely that kind of awe which is inspired by mighty works—will do well to avoid this book." Except as regards any, if there still be any in these days of far too little real interest in education and far too much wrangling about the form in which it shall be given, to whom Cowper's oft-quoted line applies—

Just knows, and knows no more, her Bible true,

we most certainly say, No! Every one who has a fair education and who has "love, trust and awe" should certainly read and must as certainly be benefited by this book, for which we desire to express our deep gratitude to Dr. Abbott. His position is, we admit, curious, and certainly we do not agree with him as regards the miraculous, but we cannot believe this book can be productive of anything but good. He takes for his motto, the love of Christ constraineth us—every page is a commentary on that motto. And it is no mere vague and general sentiment that Dr. Abbott means. A sentence at the end of chap. xxxv. shows this:—

"As he said these words he stood up extending his hand. I have allowed myself, he said, to keep you too long when you have many things to do. Once or twice intending to check myself I have broken loose again. I will not a third time. Only this one additional word. Believe me, Æmilius Scaurus was right in saying, the religion of the Christians is a person. But your friend went on to say, and nothing more. I should prefer to say the same thing differently. Our religion is a person *and nothing less.*"

We repeat, this book must do good. It will shake no one's faith in God revealed perfectly in Christ. It will help all who are not intolerant, self-opinionated bigots—and who can help them!—to be just and sympathetic with those who take a position with which they do not agree and which they may regret, or think unsafe. And it will show them the "great gulf" between what philosophy was, even at its best, and Christianity; moreover, it will also teach many in what light the Gospel would often be looked at in the early days of the Church.

¹ *Silanus the Christian.* By Edwin A. Abbott. London: Adam and Charles Black.

And for some of our readers—for those of the clergy especially who have to deal with men who are so far educated that they have a taste for reading the sort of articles that appear in monthly magazines like the *Nineteenth Century*—we may add that it will help them to understand the light in which the Gospel is being looked at by very many in the present day. Paley's *Evidences* is not, we think, much read now; neither Matthew Arnold's "plain man" nor Sir Oliver Lodge's "modern man" ever read Paley; they read what is "up-to-date," the only thing that, far too often, it is up to. We do not mean that these gentlemen—Matthew Arnold would have written Philistines—are either insincere or irreligious, they are merely men who are far too much under the influence of the present rage for what is crisp, interesting, and, above all, short; they might indeed choose their literature more wisely, but they have generally very little leisure, and what therefore they really want is leading and guiding. Now reviewer after reviewer in the daily and weekly press will send them to *Silanus the Christian*; the *Spectator* for instance had an enthusiastically appreciative article, wholly laudatory and sympathetic. The lay brother, therefore, who largely follows his newspaper will certainly read this book; and if the reverend brother does not also read it, so as to be prepared to meet him sympathetically, he will most certainly make a very serious mistake. It is a book characteristic of present-day thought, just as Dante is of mediæval, or *The Pilgrim's Progress* of Puritan thought. So let every clergyman who has not yet done so read *Silanus the Christian*; he will personally be the better—very much the better for so doing, and he will be better prepared to fulfil his office as a teacher.

The Apocalypse of St. John.¹ By H. BARCLAY SWETE, D.D. We have awaited Dr. Swete's long-promised commentary on the Apocalypse with much expectation; it has come at last, and we are not disappointed. From beginning to end it is thorough. The Introduction is divided into eighteen chapters, and occupies more than 200 pages; the text and notes more than 300; the student can hardly ask for more.

More than 500 pages, all bearing evidence of careful and most laborious scholarship, cannot, it is obvious, be criticised in detail; we can only make a few remarks, and draw attention to one or two of the special features of the book.

Dr. Swete is an exceedingly cautious commentator. On three points especially, as regards the Apocalypse, modern criticism has not yet spoken the last word—the unity of the book; its date; and its authorship. Only

¹ *The Apocalypse of St. John*. The Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes and Indices. By H. Barclay Swete, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co.

on the first of these does Dr. Swete speak absolutely decisively. He is entirely against regarding the book as a composite work : "No theory," he says, "with regard to the sources of the Apocalypse can be satisfactory which overlooks the internal evidence of its essential unity". It follows, almost of course, that he looks with little favour on those who seek the origin of its symbolism in Jewish Apocalyptic literature (like Enoch for instance), rather than in Daniel and Ezekiel. For if this were admitted, a very wide door would be opened for theories like Vischer's. Our only remark is, Dr. Swete *may* be right.

The date, "with all due deference" to Westcott, Lightfoot and Hort, he assigns, though not quite so certainly, to the reign of Domitian ; it "appears to be consistent with the general character and purpose of the book". We add that in the chapter on Antichrist in the Province of Asia—perhaps the best in the Introduction—he gives very weighty reasons for his opinion.

On the authorship he evidently has an open mind ; a fair case, he thinks, may be made for either the Apostle, or "the mysterious elder". We are not amongst those whom his "indecision" will "disappoint".

But we have one remark to add which we feel half ashamed to make. To want more is impossible ; to want something different is quite in accordance with "poor human nature" which is so hard to satisfy. We should have liked a great deal less of notes on the Grammar, etc., and much more on the Interpretation, following the rule—

Who would the poet understand
Must go with him to poet's land.

Dr. Swete insists that the author was a prophet—yes ! but one who saw visions. Visions are not much elucidated by observance—even the most scholarly—of the niceties of grammatical rules. "O Kate, nice customs curtsy to great kings," said Henry V. ; and grammar and diction must do more than curtsy, they have to strain and break when the attempt is made to show in human speech the vision of heaven opened, and to tell the words of thunderings and great voices. What liberties Browning took with both grammar and even the English language ; but who cares ? There are nuts as hard to crack as *χαλκολίβανος* in "Christmas Eve and Easter Day" ; but we have not minded. And we the more regret—or rather are the more ungrateful—because Dr. Swete has shown in our own pages that he is not one of those to whom "the ivory gate and golden" is closed. We should have very much liked something more on the lines of Milligan or Benson, even if to make room some notes had to be curtailed. But we have not got these things ; we ought to be, and we are, grateful for what we have got.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Messrs. ADAM & CHARLES BLACK, Soho Square, London.

Rudolf Eucken's Philosophy of Life, by W. R. Boyce Gibson.
3s. 6d. net.

[Originally delivered as inter-collegiate lectures at Westfield College, University of London, 1905. The author is impressed with the personality of Prof. Eucken and the importance of his teaching for philosophy, religion and everyday life.]

Silanus the Christian, by Edwin A. Abbott. 7s. 6d. net.

[The main object is to suggest a conception of Christ, not as a rabbi, a prophet, or a philosopher, but as the Eternal Son of God, incarnate as the son of Joseph and Mary, dying for mankind, spiritually raised from the dead, and introducing into the world a new spiritual life communicable by His disciples to their successors. The difference between the Son and the Philosopher is illustrated by the autobiography of a young Roman knight, Q. Junius Silanus, attending the lectures of Epictetus in 118 A.D. In order to refute the charge that his teacher plagiarised from the Christians, Silanus procures the Epistles of St. Paul, which drew him towards Christ. Afterwards the Synoptic Gospels repel him. Finally he is converted by the personal influence of a Christian, who lends him the Fourth Gospel. These experiences, with remarks on subsequent Christian developments, Silanus records forty-five years afterwards (163 A.D.).]

From Messrs. T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street, Edinburgh.

Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, edited by James Hastings, D.D., with the Assistance of John A. Selbie, D.D., and John C. Lambert, D.D. Vol. I., Aaron-Knowledge, 21s. net.

[Gives an account of everything that relates to CHRIST—His Person, Life, Work and Teaching. It is a companion to the *Dictionary of the Bible*, for the latter being occupied mainly with things biographical, historical, geographical and antiquarian was unable to give sufficient attention to the things of Christ to meet the needs of the preacher. This is a preacher's Dictionary. Its articles are by scholars who are preachers. In range it outstrips the Gospels. It seeks to cover all that relates to Christ throughout the Bible and in the life and literature of the world. Much attention has been given to modern thought, whether Christian or anti-Christian. At the same time the contents of the Gospels, especially their spiritual contents, have never been so fully set forth before.]

Jesus and Nicodemus, a Study in Spiritual Life, by the Rev. John Reid, M.A. 4s. 6d. net.

[The fact that the narrative of the interview between our Lord and Nicodemus in St. John's Gospel forms a distinct section suggests to the author that it should be made a subject of separate study.]

From Messrs. T. & T. CLARK (*continued*).

The Argument, a Priori, for the Being and the Attributes of the Lord God, the Absolute One and First Cause, by William Honyman Gillespie.

[This book is a republication in accordance with the will of the author's widow, who bequeathed a specific sum for the purpose of extending the circulation of her husband's works. To the original book the Rev. James Urquhart adds a preface, in which he sketches the author's life and the circumstances which led him to write his book. A prospectus gives particulars of two prizes of £100 and £50 offered for the best essays criticising the *Argument*.]

Sermons in Accents, or Studies in the Hebrew Text, a book for preachers and students, by Rev. John Adams, D.D. 4s. 6d. net.

[The subject of accents is treated from the standpoint of the preacher. The author thinks that the preaching of the present needs more of the Biblical element infused into it. Biblical preaching means a preaching that is based on Biblical Theology, and this in turn presupposes a first-hand acquaintance with the text. And this can be attained only by getting back to the ordinary Hebrew sources. The author proposes to lead the reader back to the Hebrew sources, while always keeping in view the practical bearing of the subject.]

From Mr. PHILIP GREEN, 5 Essex Street, Strand, London.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles for English Readers, a Translation with Introduction and Notes, by James Edwin Odgers, M.A., D.D. 1s. net.

[This translation was printed for the use of students attending the author's lectures at the Twelfth University Extension Summer Meeting, 1905. Chapter and verses which do not appear in the Greek manuscript are added for reference.]

From Mr. FRANCIS GRIFFITHS, 34 Maiden Lane, Strand, London.

The Elements of Greek Worship, by S. C. Kaines Smith, M.A. 2s. 6d. net.

[The author aims at presenting in a small compass the spirit of the ancient Greek religion, in a form which may be acceptable to those who, while wishing to obtain some insight into ancient Greek culture, have neither the time nor the means for an exhaustive study of the subject. The author is well equipped for his task by active research in Athens, and by the experience he has gained of the requirements of students in his capacity of University Extension lecturer.]

Newman, Pascal, Loisy and the Catholic Church, by W. J. Williams, M.A.

[An outline of the philosophic basis of the Liberal Catholic Movement. An attempt to show that Liberal Catholicism is founded on the best traditions in Catholic thought.]

From Messrs. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 39 Paternoster Row, London.

**Gregory the Great, His Place in History and Thought, by
F. Homes Duddon, B.D. In two volumes. 30s. net.**

[The author, though confessing himself conscious of imperfections in his study of Pope Gregory, feels that no apology is needed for writing a detailed account of a man who has exercised a momentous influence upon the doctrine, organisation and discipline of the Catholic Church. Even the secular historian cannot overlook the work of one whose influence was felt alike by the Byzantine Emperors, by the Lombard Princes, and by the Kings of Britain, Gaul and Spain. Students of English ecclesiastical history should turn with especial attention to the theology of Gregory. For the system of dogma which was introduced into our island by Augustine was the system elaborated by Augustine's revered master. The first book of the biography deals with the history of the saint—his family, the world of his childhood, his education; in his capacity as prefect, monk and abbot. The second book continues this history through Gregory's Pontificate. It is concerned with his dealings with the Lombards and the Franks. It tells of his missionary labours, of his attitude to Monasticism, and of his relations both with the Church of the East and with the government. The third book devotes itself exclusively to his theology.]

**The Atonement, by the Rev. Leighton Pullan. Oxford Library of
Practical Theology. 5s.**

[The object of the series of which this volume is one member, is to supply some carefully considered teaching on matters of religion to the large volume of devout laymen who desire instruction, but are not attracted by the learned treatises which appeal to the theologian. Mr. Pullan after a chapter on "Sin" and another on "Jesus Christ" proceeds to trace the idea of Atonement as it occurs in the Old Testament, the Synoptic Gospels, the writings of St. John, the primitive Jewish Christian teaching, and as it is taught by St. Paul and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. He reminds us that the Catholic Church as a whole has never given us any full definition of the nature of the Atonement nor any definition so complete as it has done in the case of the kindred doctrine of the Incarnation. He states certain principles which he believes to be involved in the teaching of the Bible concerning our redemption.]

**Corpus Christi and other Essays, by the Rev. Robert Vaughan.
4s. net.**

[In this volume the writer wishes to show that oftentimes when men have thought they must discard Christianity and place something better in its stead, the very beauty of the theory which attracts them is only a beauty which is really to be found in Jesus Christ, and has only been obscured by misrepresentation and ignorance. Other chapters besides that from which the book borrows its title are concerned with "The Resurrection of the Dead," "Divine Fore-knowledge and Human Freedom," "The Atonement," "The Kingdom of God," and "Some Aspects of the Eucharist".]

From Messrs. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO. (*continued*).

Religious Education and How to Improve It, by Rev. C. L. Drawbridge, M.A. 3s. 6d. net.

[Permanent enlargement of ideals, the author reminds us, as well as temporary harm to religion follows the violent collision of rival religious ideals. It is with this permanent enlargement of ideals that he concerns himself in this volume. "Catechisms *versus* Sunday Schools," "The Education Controversy," "Confirmation," "Sunday Schools," "Children's Prayers" are the subjects of some of the fifteen chapters.]

A Short History of the Oxford Movement, by Sir Samuel Hall, M.A., K.C. 4s. 6d. net.

[The author makes no pretence to discuss the theological questions which were raised in the progress of the Oxford Movement. He only endeavours to explain, How it arose, Who were its leaders, How it proceeded, and What were its results.]

The Problem of the Pentateuch, an Examination of the Results of the Higher Criticism, by Randolph H. McKim, D.D., LL.D., with a foreword by the Dean of Canterbury. 3s. 6d. net.

[The author, who is the President of the Lower House of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, thinks that the alleged results of the current criticism of the Old Testament, as put forward by the school which has of late been predominant, are in certain points unsound, and, as an inevitable consequence, injurious to the Christian Faith. He examines the Higher Criticism; its ancestry, its history and its shifting character. He defines his limitations; his criticism is directed solely to the Graf-Wellhausen theory. Finally he sketches lines of defence.]

Stoic and Christian in the Second Century: a Comparison of the Ethical Teaching of Marcus Aurelius with that of Contemporary and Antecedent Christianity, by Leonard Alston, M.A. 3s. net.

[Makes no attempt to deal comprehensively with the authors touched upon, but is intended to illustrate merely those aspects of their teaching which to the author's judgment seem to be of the most abiding significance.]

Preparation for Confirmation, by Rev. J. P. Maud, M.A. Handbook for the Clergy Series. 2s. 6d. net.

[The author is fully aware of the importance of his subject. The preparation for confirmation brings the Clergy into the closest contact with those who are to be confirmed, and to the latter it is perhaps the only chance in their life of receiving systematic instruction in the Christian Faith. In consequence the author is diffident to attempt to reproduce his own experience, but does so for the benefit of those who are suddenly called upon to do this work without any previous preparation.]

From Messrs. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO. (*continued*).

The Mission of the Holy Ghost, by the Rev. G. H. S. Walpole, D.D. 2s. net.

[Lectures delivered to the members of the St. Paul's Lecture Society during the autumn of 1905.]

The Way to Teach the Bible, According to the method in use at the Church of Ireland Training College, Kildare Place, Dublin, by H. Kingsmill Moore, D.D. 2s.

[Combating the absurd position to which ecclesiastical and political rivalry seems to have reduced the Bible—it is to be taught, but you must not teach it well—Dr. Moore assumes the necessity of a carefully considered programme of Biblical instruction specially suitable for teaching morality and religion. The present book endeavours to outline a machinery for dealing with that programme.]

The Example of Our Lord, especially for His Ministers, by the Rt. Rev. A. C. A. Hall, D.D., Bishop of Vermont. 2s. 6d. net.

[A series of addresses delivered at the pre-Lenten Retreat at the General Theological Seminary, 1906. They are published primarily for the benefit of candidates for Orders and the younger clergy. But, with different applications, they have also been given to general congregations. They deal with Our Lord's Family, Friends, Work, Prayers, Temptation and Sufferings.]

From Messrs. MACMILLAN & CO., London.

The Apocalypse of St. John, the Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices, by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D. 15s.

[This is a sequel to the author's commentary on St. Mark. As that painted the earthly so this paints the heavenly life of our Lord. The Apocalypse carries us into a region where the methods of the biographer and the historian avail nothing. It is the region of the prophet, who struggles with symbolism to express things lying largely beyond human thought. The author feels that to comment upon this prophecy is to step upon dangerous ground, but he is willing to do so in the conviction that there are great stores in the Apocalypse for Christian teaching, and that he may draw into a single volume the many accessions of knowledge made in recent years. In the execution of his design he has sought to place each passage in the light of the conditions under which the book was composed, and to interpret accordingly, not forgetting, however, the power inherent in all true prophecy of fulfilling itself in circumstances remote from those which called it forth.]

Reason and Revelation, an Essay in Christian Apology, by J. R. Illingworth, M.A., D.D. 6s.

[An essay supplementary to previous essays by Mr. Illingworth in the same direction. Primarily concerned with some of the permanent principles of apology rather than with any particular controversies of the hour. It will exhibit these passing controversies which are apt to loom larger than they are in reality, in their due relation to the Christian position as a whole.]

From Messrs. MACMILLAN & CO. (*continued*).

St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians : the Greek text with notes and addenda, by the late Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., D.C.L. 10s. 6d.

[The Rev. J. M. Schulhof, to whom was entrusted the task of preparing for the press the late Bishop Westcott's work on the Epistle to the Ephesians, had, through the scantiness of the materials, to abandon the original plan of providing a Prolegomena and Appendix. Thus the book published may be less useful to the general reader but will be more acceptable to scholars. In place, therefore, of the full Introduction, there is prefixed to the text and notes a nominal Introduction. The section on "Text" reproduces the statistical matter of the corresponding section in Hebrews. The section-headings "Title and Destination" and "Date and Place of Writing" contain a few relevant paragraphs from original authorities or from Dr. Westcott's papers, or reference is made to standard works. And so on, with the exception of the last section, "The Plan of the Epistle," which is Dr. Westcott's own, and is printed exactly as it stands in his manuscript. The author seeks to justify this Introduction and similarly the Appendix, and perhaps few will wish he had done otherwise than he has in his difficult task. In the Commentary, however, we can "recognise the unalloyed expression of the author's mind and heart; a last, clear word of consolation, strong and unfaltering, from one who through many years had ever in the intervals of official work turned with loving joy to the interpretation of this Epistle".]

From Messrs. MASTERS & CO., 78 New Bond Street, London.

The Plants of the Bible, Their Ancient and Mediæval History popularly described, by Rev. Professor G. Henslow, M.A., F.L.S. 6s. net.

[The author seeks to supplement the books which were published some years ago on Bible plants. In some cases he makes corrections where plants have been wrongly identified; in other cases he refers to plants which had formerly escaped observation. He has enlarged upon the ancient and mediæval history of the plants. The book contains numerous illustrations.]

O Sapientia: Seven Sermons on the Ancient Antiphons for Advent, by Cornelius Witherby, M.A. 2s. 6d.

[The author seeks in these sermons to place himself in the position of a parish priest in the days when these Antiphons (in which there is not a word or thought at which the strictest Protestant could take offence) were sung, and the earlier days especially; and then to apply the petitions to analogous duties and dangers of our own day.]

The Servant of the Lord, by Richenda Buxton, with an Introduction by Henry Scott Holland. 2s. 6d.

[A book addressed to those who stand lonely, depressed and wondering upon the threshold of life, stirred by the thoughts of its vast possibilities. It would rescue such from morbidness and inactivity by reminding them of the meaning and the greatness of life.]

From G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, London and New York.

Jesus and the Prophets, an Historical, Exegetical and Interpretative Discussion of the use of Old Testament Prophecy by Jesus and of His attitude toward it, by Charles S. Macfarland, Ph.D.

[The historic method makes us rely upon the Bible because it is a faithful transcript of the most pertinent human religious experience, rather than that it is a definite, unchanged transmission of the formulated declarations of God. This has the effect of making prominent the human element of the Bible. This historic method of approaching the Bible has had a twofold result. It has centred attention upon Christ who was the goal of this recorded religious development. And the study of Jesus's personality has directed attention back to the Old Testament, which He rescued from a deadly formalism and reinterpreted as life and power. Thus modern Biblical scholarship has shifted the foreshadowing in the Old Testament, of the historic Christ, from a foreshadowing of specific declarations, to the more essential foreshadowing, accomplished by broadening the religious outlook in the direction whither Jesus was ultimately and indefinitely to expand it. Imbued with the spirit of these ideas the author's main purpose is to set forth Jesus's use of prophecy; to indicate His attitude towards it and the standard by which He valued it, and in the light of this to show what its fulfilment signified with Him, and how He regarded Himself as the "fulfiller" of prophecy.]

From Messrs. RIVINGTON, 34 King Street, Covent Garden, London.

Burning Questions in the Light of To-day, by the Rev. E. H. Archer Shepherd, M.A. 2s. 6d. net.

[A series of essays which deal with the nature of the Virgin Birth; the nature of our Lord's Resurrection Body; the nature of the Atonement; the nature of Inspiration, and What is Christianity?]

From Mr. ELLIOT STOCK, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

Sanctification by the Truth, Sermons preached for the most part in Westminster Abbey, by Basil Wilberforce, D.D.

[The author of these sermons is conscious that the truth, as a final discovery, exists in no department of knowledge. Truth must constantly be bought, and what one generation buys will be transcended by the purchase of the next. These sermons represent the aspirations of a truth seeker. They are twenty-five in number, and deal with such varied subjects as "Motherhood in God," "Ought the Clergy to Criticise the Bible," "Nelson and Trafalgar," "Self-control".]

Revelatio Dei, the Eternal Revelation of the Triune God. A poem by Bernard Herklots, M.A. 2s. 6d. net.

[A poem, mainly in blank verse, which attempts to dramatise and popularise the doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Eternal Generation of the Son, the Immanence of the Godhead, and the Final Consummation of the Divine Purpose in the whole Created Universe.]

From Mr. ELLIOT STOCK (*continued*).

The Gospel of Divine Humanity, A reconsideration of Christian doctrine in the light of a central principle, by J. W. Farquhar. A republication. 3s. net.

[The author claims to have discovered the Divine Logos in Humanity, in the race begotten of God "before times eternal," and he has recognised the revelation of this eternal generation in the incarnate Son of God, the Representative Son of man; thus we who are "broken lights" of the "Light of Light" may know ourselves in Him and by Him, who being *ideal* Human, is therefore necessarily Divine-Human.]

Aids to Belief in the Miracles and Divinity of Christ, by W. L. Paige Cox, M.A., with a preparatory note by the Lord Bishop of Chester. 1s.

[This book is the outcome of the writer's experience of the need of a manual of Christian Evidences which might be placed in the hands of a business man who has not the time for exhaustive study. The book deals particularly with difficulties of belief.]

Eternal Life, its Nature and Sustenance, a Reflection by R. Somervell, M.A. 1s. 6d. net.

[The writer claims no originality. His endeavour in the main is to say again in simpler language what the late John McLeod Campbell said somewhat obscurely in his "Christ, the Bread of Life".]

The New Religious Education Act, a Suggestion and a Plea. 6d.

A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on some points in the Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline, issued July, 1906, by George Edward Tarner.

PROSPECTUS OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF BIBLICAL SUBJECTS.

GENERAL OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

1.—To bring the members of the Society into direct relations with the leaders of thought.

2.—To provide advanced students, lay or clerical, but especially ministers, and missionaries in active work, with systematic and scientific courses of study.

3.—To arrange less advanced courses of study for Christian workers, young students, young business men and women. Also—

- (i) To help in the selection of the best type of books.
- (ii) To accustom members to the scientific method of inquiry.
- (iii) To point the relation of Biblical truth to science, to literature, to practical affairs, and to the civilised and uncivilised communities of the world.

4.—To render special assistance to isolated members whether they rank as more advanced or less advanced students.

5.—To have a Journal like other scientific Societies so that members may have the latest phases of thought on particular questions, and grasp the problems of the times. The INTERPRETER has been suggested, and the Editor has kindly offered to co-operate.

6.—To have as the chief aim of the Society the strengthening of Christian faith and character.

PROPOSED BYE-LAWS.

1.—The Society shall be known as the "Society for the Study of Biblical Subjects".

Objects of the Society.

2.—The objects of the Society are the encouragement and advancement of the sphere of learning associated with the Sacred Scriptures and the great departments of knowledge more or less in immediate relation thereto, *e.g.*—

Systematic Theology.	Biblical Criticism.
Biblical Theology.	Assyriology.
Comparative Theology.	Egyptology.
Hebrew.	Palæography.
Septuagint.	Christian and Jewish Archæology.
Greek New Testament.	Church History.

The furtherance of the objects of the Society by

- (i) The issue of a Journal (and other printed publications) under the sanction of the Society.

In view of the representative character of the Society the Journal is not to be confined to one School of Christian thought.

- (ii) An Annual Conference for the opportunity of mutual intercourse, the announcement of the latest results in research work, etc.
- (iii) For advanced students arrangements for a systematic and scientific course of Biblical and theological reading (including seminars). In the first instance the correspondence system would be adopted. Special fees would be charged.
- (iv) For less advanced students the formation of a Bible Study Guild with periodical local gatherings for friendly discussion, inquiries, etc., etc. Special guidance shall be given by the Society by the issue of leaflets, etc., to members.
- (v) Courses of study for members requiring specific training, *e.g.*, missionary students desiring assistance in Oriental languages. Special fees.
- (vi) Other subsidiary means of usefulness as the Council of the Society may decide upon, *e.g.*, vacation lectures at recognised Colleges, suggestions as to selection of books, access to libraries, issue of bibliographies, special lectures for local centres.

Representatives of Colleges and Universities.

3.—The Professors of the Universities, Tutors, and other leading Scholars who teach in the departments of knowledge referred to above, shall be invited to become Representatives.

Officers of the Society.

4.—The Officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, the two Honorary Secretaries, and the Editorial Secretary.

Council of the Society.

5.—The Council of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, the two Honorary Secretaries, and thirty Councillors chosen from among and by the vote of the Representatives of the Colleges and the Universities. Additional Councillors, but not more than ten, shall be nominated from among the ordinary members of the Society.

Membership.

6.—Membership shall be unlimited, and open to ladies as well as gentlemen.

Annual Subscription.

7.—The Annual Subscription shall be five shillings, including free delivery of the Journal of the Society and communications in connection with the Bible Study Guild at the residence of members. The subscription shall become payable on the 1st of in each year.

Should more than one member of a family residing at the same address desire to belong to the Society, the first member shall pay an annual subscription of five shillings, the second one shilling, and so on. In these cases only one copy of the Journal of the Society shall be forwarded to the address given, but each member shall receive the leaflets, etc., relating to the Bible Study Guild.

OTHER BYE-LAWS.

Powers of the Council.
Election of Officers annually.
Annual General Meeting.
Special General Meetings.
Notices, etc.

The various proposals set forth in this Scheme will only be gradually realised.

The scheme has already the sympathy and the general approval of the following Representatives of Universities and Colleges :—

1. Rev. W. C. Allen, M.A., Examiner in Sacra Theologia, Oxford.
2. Rev. W. Emery Barnes, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
3. Rev. L. J. M. Bebb, M.A., D.D., Principal of Lampeter College.
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THE INTERPRETER.

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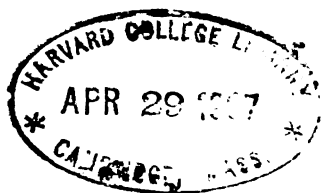
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THE INTERPRETER.

Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things?

Chr. : Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

Christianity and History.

The Adolf Harnack of the average English imagination is probably a very different person to the actual Adolf Harnack. But in a most readable little essay of his which Messrs. Black have republished in a cheap edition, any one who wills may see the true Harnack. The essay, *Christianity and History*, was originally delivered in the form of a lecture to the members of that branch of the Evangelical Union which is established in Berlin. The essay is weighty. The subject is approached by tracing the removal of the eighteenth-century contention that every man was endowed with a stock of pure reason well fitted to supply all that was necessary for a virtuous and happy life. Those who contended thus had declared that all such religions as Christianity were merely accidental and unnecessary. In view of the fancied completeness of each individual man even history was unnecessary ; it could give a man nothing he had not already got.

All this is now a thing of the past and we have learnt to value history. To history we owe what we possess. From history we have learnt of development and personality, and with the coming of the study of history, religion has been restored to its rightful place. Religion is no longer viewed as a mere

accident, nor as an arbitrarily fashioned affair, but as a growth running through history, a something which is living and real.

But when this old method of assailing Christianity failed, a new attack was discovered, which takes the form at the present time of a triple challenge. We are told in the first place that Christianity is only one link in the whole development of which history consists. Secondly, that even if we grant that the Founder of Christianity was an incomparable man, He lived long ago, and consequently His person has gone, and only His doctrines and principles remain. Finally, that historical criticism has rendered the facts of history so doubtful that no sure foundation remains for our religious belief.

Replying to the first challenge Harnack well maintains that it is untrue to describe development merely as a process of material change; it requires the activity of an individual, of a *personality*. The thoughts and achievements of one generation are dead until they unite, married as it were with the souls of the next. In a sense there is nothing absolutely new: all is deduced from what went before; what we call new is only relatively new; one prophet fires another. Of religious development this is doubly true. And yet, all the prophets have not the same message; we cannot find some one conception which embraces all their differences; each must be judged by itself. But of one alone can it be said that He united unfeigned humility and purity of will with the claim that He was more than all the prophets who went before Him, who was more to His disciples than Prophet, Priest and King; who was the Prince of Life, the Redeemer and the Judge of the world. This claim and this estimation are unique, and the personality honoured behind them must be unique.

In meeting the objection that Christ is only a figure of long ago, Harnack selects one of many possible lines of argument. Religion, he is agreed, is nothing more than that a man should find God and possess Him as *his* God. The man who fails to

hear God for himself is without God. This is essential, and merely seeing the beauty of Christianity as a principle or a doctrine is not religion. But let us remember how few can hear the voice of God in their personal life without some human help, without heart kindling heart. At the end of a long line of messengers stands Jesus Christ; all point to Him as the River whence life has flowed to them. Nor is it true that Jesus is thus only a power of the past. If we bear in mind that the Christian faith is a decision for God against the world, and that we are called to a great contest and stand in infinite need of assurance of success, then a glance to Jesus Christ, to the image of His life, will dispel that doubt of doubts which darkly hints to us that we are following a delusion. It is His personality which saves us when we falter. In a life lived wholly in the fear of God, despite the loss of every possession, there is a grandeur and a love which draws us to itself. "No soul can avoid the thought that whoso died thus, died well; he dies not but lives." This it is that gives us courage to believe that in the history of the world God prevails. "Jesus lives, and with Him I live also."

Of Harnack's attitude to the third attack space forbids us to do more than quote the following sentence: "The spiritual purport of a whole life, of a personality, is also an historical fact; we are certain of it by the effect which it produces; and it is here that we find the link that binds us to Jesus Christ".

The Papal Commission and the Pentateuch.

Freedom within the pale of the Roman Church for the application of the historical method to the understanding of the Scriptures would seem to have suffered a severe blow through the "Answers" of the recent Pontifical Biblical Commission respecting the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. Baron Friedrich von Hügel and Dr. C. A. Briggs, two singularly broad-minded men, one within and one without the Roman communion, have voiced in letters published by Messrs. Longmans the widespread felling of sorrow and concern which these "Answers" have occasioned.

Dr. Briggs exposes the uncandid nature of the first "Answer" when it asserts that the arguments amassed by critics against the Mosaic authorship are not of sufficient weight. For the "Answer" gives no indication of either the weight, the number or the importance of these arguments. These arguments he himself sums up under four heads: (1) The language of the four great documents is so different, that they must have been composed by different writers. This difference extends to a large vocabulary and belongs to different centuries in the historical development of the Hebrew language. It represents a language not existing till centuries after Moses' death. (2) Difference of style compels us to postulate several authors and several periods. (3) The historical situations of these various documents differ; the institutions and ceremonies do not all belong to one period of history. (4) The different documents present different theological conceptions.

Against this fourfold argument no corresponding weight of evidence is brought forth by the Commission, whereas the argument of Dr. Briggs is clinched by the writer of the other letter, Baron Hügel, who points out the immense because the strictly cumulative force of the fourfold argument. The domains and frontiers of the several sets of passages coincide. Passages marked by the same vocabulary are also marked by the same style, the same type of thought, the same conception of history.

But Baron Hügel does not think that the situation created by the Pontifical Biblical Commission can be final. He points to four powerful motives which are ever at work to render any full and final exclusion of the application of the historic method to Biblical subjects impossible for Catholicism. In the first place Catholicism is essentially an historical religion, wedded to historic proofs and methods. And it is impossible, he maintains, to have one method for estimating the authority for instance of Irenæus' testimony to the Roman Church, and another for examining the reality of the person of Moses, his spiritual experience and his proclamation of the foundation of the Jewish law. Secondly, Catholicism is a missionary religion and it must consequently

learn as well as teach. If it would retain a message for the educated West European it must open its doors to a method which has won the cultivated non-Roman Catholic world. Thirdly, Catholicism is essentially a "Church and Bible" religion and not only a "Bible" religion. Its elementary defence presupposes the Bible to be a complex and difficult, not a simple and easy literature. And finally Catholicism is a life and an organism which has grown and is growing, and it of all modes of belief should recognise the principle of "one great chain of slow, varying, intermittent yet true development occasioned by God and man, and moving from man towards God".

Biblical History and Literature.

Before we turn from this subject of the extreme importance of the historical study of the Bible we would call attention to a useful handbook recently published to assist students of Biblical history. *The Outlines for the Study of Biblical History and Literature* by Drs. Sanders and Fowler (Messrs. Smith, Elder & Co.) is at once an explanation in itself, and a guide to fuller treatment. Thus after each section which tersely discusses, in their progressive and natural order, such topics as the deluge narratives in Genesis and in Babylonian literature, or the monumental records of the Assyrian influence upon Israel during the eighth century B.C., the authors give a list of references whence the varied information may be culled first hand. These references are rendered doubly useful by directing the reader at once to the essential page, chapter or paragraph. In thus reviewing book by book, or period by period, the authors give admirable advice as to the best method for the student to pursue.

Sin.

If in Mr. Eck's volume on *Sin* (Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.) there is nothing strikingly original, and we confess that in our somewhat hurried glance through it we were disappointed in our hope of finding fresh light on this difficult but vital subject, at least there is forceful insistence upon some points which are

well worthy of better recognition than they get. Probably this is due to the professed character of the book, whose aim is practical rather than speculative.

In the third section, which treats of *The Way to Recovery*, there is a chapter on the Punishment of Sin. It does well in putting us upon our guard against importing too easily into our language about God's punishment and God's forgiveness ideas drawn from the nature of human punishment and human forgiveness. Thus the object of human punishment is primarily to vindicate an outraged law, and only indirectly to reform the sinner, for the punishment must be inflicted whether it hardens the sinner or not. But this is not so in the case of God's justice. God punishes in order to restore the sinner to the position he has forfeited by his sin. And whereas human justice is found to calculate the gravity of the sin, and an earthly judge must inflict what penalty he thinks is in accordance with the law, the Divine justice is always concerned with the effect of the punishment upon the sinner.

Mr. Eck even warns us against lightly describing God as the inflicter of punishment. There is always a danger in speaking of the harvest which we reap on account of our sins as an arbitrary act of God. Rather we should describe it as the self-acting consequence of our own transgression. The old and terrible notion of God wreaking vengeance upon the sinner is happily a doctrine we are rapidly leaving behind us, thanks to the mysterious leavening influence of the ever-living spirit of Christ.

Christian Theology and Social Progress.

Mr. Bernard Shaw, when he openly expressed his dislike of the doctrine of personal immortality, only spoke the unuttered, perhaps the unconscious, thought of thousands. This disbelief follows inevitably in the wake of the increasing tendency to drift towards an unknowable God, a mere Root of Being, a mere Force. Such a tendency may not be a logical consequence upon the doctrine of the Law of Nature of which we constantly hear,

but it is, to those who think somewhat loosely, a natural inference from it. In this unknowable God, and this sceptical attitude towards personal immortality, the old democratic ideal is blighted and lost. How this is so Mr. F. W. Bussell in his *Christian Theology and Social Progress* shows us.

The old democratic ideal, Mr. Bussell says, laid an adequate emphasis upon the dignity and worth of the individual. Each man, it maintained, was an end in himself. Any government which wishes to rule him justly must rule him not by force but by an interest which binds rulers and ruled together. Nor must actual present needs be unfairly sacrificed in favour of a distant Utopia. The old democratic doctrine was based upon the individual worth of a man and his work. "It is withered up if the interest is transferred to some abstraction, some racial solidarity or loftier type of being with which we may fancy our decadent age is pregnant."

If an individual is called upon to suffer for a great ideal towards which he and others are striving, he can only logically do so because he is assured that his eternal welfare is in safe keeping. If his eternal welfare is not in safe keeping how can he view with any satisfaction the distant prospect of an ideal state, which has been bought at so fearful a cost, so reckless a cost of suffering, and on this theory of unrequited suffering, throughout the ages? Natural and social evolution is the goal: the brief misery and eternal extinction of the individual are the price. There is no point in a man laying down his life for his brethren, since even this sacrifice places them in no better plight than himself. Their life is likewise without meaning, and the mere adding up of a long series of unending failures never can lead us to any real sense of worth.

To such a pass does reflection lead us when we have no foundation to build upon other than belief in mere Force behind all things, and no goal other than personal extinction. In practice the consequence may for a while be delayed. Our lives are set in social grooves carved out by other beliefs. But theory will in the end react upon practice, as the succeeding generations will

find to their cost. The individual already revolts from being the plaything of unseen forces or the tool of State interest. And in this revolt we find the key to the widespread demand for immediacy of fruition, and scorn for the pursuit of an end which can only be reached in a remote future. Such beliefs are a flat denial of that truth which Christianity revealed and which the Teutonic spirit resolutely grasped, "the absolute and undying value of the individual". The notion of heavenly life as the sequel to earthly endeavour was responsible for much of the courage and splendour of the mediæval spirit, and it is a grave question for us to ask ourselves, in view of these gloomy beliefs whose advent we have been tracing, whether we can afford to ignore the solution which is offered by religion in general and the Gospel in particular. Of all ages it is our own which should value a standard of utility, and if the tendency of the Christian religion leads to better results than this unhappy tendency of modern thought appears to be leading us then the issue of the choice should not be doubtful.

The Impulse of Religion.

In a chapter on "The Impulse of Religion" Mr. Bussell takes us to the heart of the matter, as far as the essential benefit of the religious view is concerned. Religion as distinguished alike from theology and ethics he divides into three stages. The first is marked by bare fear of the unknown, whether the force of the elements or the caprice of a departed ancestor. This fear is succeeded, in the second stage, by a "grateful sense of relief in finding a Divine guardian-protector"; by a belief in the possibility of immediate access to one who can help, which marks the beginnings of purely personal religion. There is dependence on a chosen protector, a sense of alienation caused by guilt, and a belief in the possibility of reconciliation. There is the desire to cultivate the good-will of the god, that he may bestow those concrete blessings which it is his prerogative to dispense. The third stage, with its revelation of a Divine purpose, with its call to man to enter into co-operation with God, with its appeal to

his loyalty and its enhancement of his dignity, places man outside the narrow circle of selfish satisfaction and immediate interests, and raises him to a sphere where greater issues are at stake. In this stage men have grown tired of looking upon themselves as mere pawns, mere instruments, mere vessels fashioned on the potter's wheel. Deep down in the heart of each is the glad suspicion that he who has borne the brunt of the conflict must also in some sense share in the triumph of the cause. The worshipper feels that he is battling in the ranks of an unseen community, a partner with others in developing a Divine purpose which he sees constantly unfolding before his eyes. His horizon widens and from his own particular salvation he passes on to sympathy with Church or Society. It is interesting to observe how this new dignity, this new eagerness for a cause, displaces the old tendency to unhealthy introspection and the old overpowering sense of guilt.

It is by alliance with this final conception of religion, this thought-ennobling conception, which, while it makes a true demand upon our faith, is in no sense irrational, that democratic ideals can hope for fulfilment, or the social order escape the ill day of dissolution.

The Knowledge of God.

In the latter half of his book on *The Knowledge of God* Professor Gwatkin reviews the great reactions from the Protestant orthodoxy of the seventeenth century. There was the devotional reaction which mistrusted reason, and the catholicising reaction which set it at defiance. Yet these temporary and necessary reactions have not been able to hinder the march of the great forward movement which fearlessly welcomed and trusted reason. Nor has this trust been misplaced. Men have indeed at first seen in deism and rationalism, philosophy and science, criticism and politics, a rival to, or a substitute for, or the controlling idea of religion. But ultimately one and all have helped to develop our conception of the knowledge of God; they have raised it to a more exalted level, they have stripped it of unworthy ideas and revealed the strength of its foundations.

Modern science indeed has been the nursling of Christianity. The scientific principle of the unity of nature was the outcome of the unity of God, while the scientific aim to work for the betterment of man's estate was borrowed from the Christian teaching of the dignity of man. In the eighteenth century, it is true, science and religion drifted apart, but this was due rather to the desire for specialisation than the result of any felt antagonism. Science was bound up in phenomena and sequences, philosophy and religion stepped further back and investigated questions of cause and origin.

Yet religion was destined to reap a rich harvest from these labours of science, how far soever the two strains of thought might seem to flow apart. Science closed the door to three untenable positions. First she told religion, once for all, that behind the universe there is one Power and no more. "Physical evil is too closely woven into the fabric to be torn out and assigned to some alien power, so that all polytheistic or dualistic explanations of it must be dropped."

Secondly, science has disposed of the belief in a God who acts upon the world only from the outside. Experience records no such action. If there is a Divine Will behind phenomena, it is behind *all* phenomena. Science does not tell us that natural law is Divine nor does it tell us that it is not Divine. That is no matter for science. But it does tell us that either all of it is Divine or none of it is Divine. Either God works in all or He works in none.

And finally, and perhaps most important of all, science leads us to the conclusion that if there be love behind nature it is perfect love. Science makes it impossible to believe in "a love Divine which wavers and changes and has moods and tempers". Science never denies the possibility that the awful sternness of nature may be the merciful sternness of inscrutable love, but science maintains that if it is love at all it is perfect love, unfaltering love, for nature never wavers. To religion science says, and says with justice, "the highest ideals may be true, but the lower must be false".

The Fourth Gospel.

Mr. Scott's book on St. John is deeply suggestive whether we view the Gospel from his standpoint or not. That standpoint is the standpoint of the continental school rather than the English and more conservative school. He agrees with those who assign the Gospel to the first or second decade of the second century, and denies that the author of it was the Apostle St. John. The grounds for this belief he purposely does not give. Those who wish to see them, or a few of them, in a very brief form may do so in von Soden's *Early Christian Literature*. Let one quotation suffice. If St. John the son of Zebedee was the author of the Gospel "how could he have forgotten Galilee? How could he show himself so wanting in affection for his countrymen, to whom his Master had devoted His life, with whom He had shown such touching and patient forbearance? How could he so completely have forgotten the whole great controversy concerning the validity of the Jewish law in which he had taken a prominent part? (Gal. ii. 9). . . . How could he have divorced the cleansing of the Temple from its tragic connection with the final catastrophe of which he was a trembling witness? . . . And if he be also regarded as the author of the other Johannine writings, how is it conceivable that a man of such literary and philosophical genius should have remained passive during a long life, and then in extreme old age should have suddenly taken up the pen and in the course of a few years have displayed such extraordinary literary activity?"

Professor Burkitt in his *Gospel History and its Transmission* (Messrs. T. & T. Clark, 1906) also sympathises with those who cannot accept the traditional authorship. The external testimony to the authorship is, he tells us, indecisive. In the earlier part of his book he gives substantial grounds for believing St. Mark's Gospel to be a really historical work. Here he points out that the narrative in "Mark" and the narrative in "John" cannot be made to agree. In the difference of the pictures of the Last Day, as they are presented by the Fourth Gospel and the

Synoptic Gospels, Professor Burkitt sees one of the great objects of the Evangelist. That object is the deliberate substitution of other ideals for the expected coming of the Messiah on the clouds of heaven. He had always known that the old popular expectations of a material kingdom were false, and now when time had proved them to be so he found himself confronted by new dangers from the other side. Some, priding themselves upon their greater spirituality, had begun to say that "the Son of God was not a real man at all, for flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. This to the Evangelist was the greatest error: to deny the coming of Jesus Christ in the flesh was the doctrine of Antichrist. The Fourth Gospel is written to prove the reality of Jesus Christ. But the Evangelist was no historian; ideas, not events, were to him the true realities, and if we go to his work to learn the course of events we shall only be disappointed in our search."

As we have before pointed out the older view has been splendidly set forth by Bishop Westcott and has quite recently been defended with learning and ability by Drs. Sanday and Stanton and Principal Drummond. To neglect reading these defences, whatever may be our opinion of the position they criticise, is a grave mistake.

But to return to Mr. Scott. He tells us in his book *The Fourth Gospel* (Messrs. T. & T. Clark) that the Gospel marks a stage of transition from one age to another. It belongs to a most critical period in the history of the Church, a period when the new religion had become finally separated from its historical origins, when the last representative of the apostolic age had passed away. The writer had before him the task of transplanting the religion of Christ into the new soil before its roots had time to wither. In performing this task he had not only to consider Christ's actual life and teaching, but at the same time to take into account the great movement to which it had given the initial impulse, a movement which may be best studied in the history of St. Paul. It was in the light of this movement that later thinkers were constrained to read deeper thoughts into the apparently simple utter-

ances of our Lord. The limits which Jewish modes of utterance had imposed upon Him are well reflected in the Synoptics, and lead us to feel that the language employed is not capable of expressing the message to be conveyed. "The Fourth Evangelist, when he breaks with the literal tradition, and substitutes the language of reflection for the actual words used by Jesus, is not necessarily unfaithful to the Master's teaching; on the contrary he gives truer meaning in many cases to the intrinsic thought." Christianity had cast adrift from its historical beginnings, and it was incumbent upon the writer of the Gospel to prevent it on the one hand from becoming watered down to a mere philosophy, and on the other hand from hardening into a mechanical tradition. "It is the supreme service of the Fourth Evangelist that he interpreted the vision of faith by the light of the Gospel story. He ensured for all time that the Christ of inward experience should be no ideal abstraction, but the living Master who had once been manifest in the flesh."

Among the polemical aims of the Gospel Mr. Scott sees in the material which deals with John the Baptist an effort to meet the growing assumptions of a Baptist party. The attitude of its author towards the Baptist and his mission are not at all parallel to that of the Synoptists. In the latter the Baptist is the champion of a religious reformation, a preacher of repentance and good works. In the former he is simply a witness to the light, content himself to disappear; and no mention is made of his baptising Jesus, or of the embassy he sent from the prison. There are marks of a deliberate attempt to subordinate the Baptist to Jesus. It comes out alike in the prologue, in John's disclaimer, and in the encouragement he gives to his disciples to forsake his service for that of the true Master. It is carefully pointed out that Jesus leaves the lower office of baptising to His disciples; that John's light was only for a season, that John did no miracle. In face of all this endeavour to prove that the Baptist was not the Christ the Evangelist must surely have known of some who went dangerously near to maintaining that he was. In Acts xviii. 25,

and xix. 34, there are notices which point to the existence of a Baptist party long after the Baptist's death. St. Paul had come in contact with them at Ephesus, and it was probably at Ephesus that this Gospel was written. All this and much more hints that the Evangelist was confronted in his own neighbourhood by a Baptist community, who alleged that their master was the Christ and who tried to support his claims by the testimony of the Gospel records.

To Christ through Criticism.

Mr. Seaver in his Donellan Lectures before the University of Dublin last year (published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark) faces the problem raised by those who find a difficulty in regarding Jesus' character as one of ideal perfection. This criticism of Jesus' character is by no means always due to a desire to reduce Him to a lower level. It has its source rather in a more exalted conception of what an ideal character should be. Men are not content now to describe as good a character which would have satisfied the earlier ages of mankind. But the question at once arises, Whence do we get this higher ideal? Surely it has been the outcome of the almost unconscious but unceasing influence of the character of Jesus.

Our conception, for instance, of God's aims and methods with regard to punishment of sin have been largely modified by the advances we have made in our own treatment of criminal cases; a treatment which has grown more humane and more effective to the elimination of crime. But whither must we look for the mainspring of our more enlightened action? Is it not due to our growing sense—a sense none the less real because it is reached unconsciously—that the old and more barbarous methods were not in keeping with the underlying current of our Lord's life? Thus then our higher ideal of perfection is itself ultimately due to the influence of the character of Jesus. Our very criticisms of the traditional character of Jesus are only rendered possible by the leavening influence of the Spiritual Christ upon our thought. It is the Spiritual Christ who is constantly opening

our eyes to the infinite meaning which lay enshrined behind the grandly simple life, the historical Jesus.

The Temptation of Our Lord.

The Temptation of our Lord (Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co.) is the title of the volume in which Mr. Knight reproduces the Hulsean Lectures for 1905-6. He calls our attention to the significance of the Temptation as an eloquent witness to the reality of our Lord's manhood. For Jesus is there represented in the very act of taking counsel with Himself, of marking out the basis of His ministry with a deliberate foresight, of surveying the conditions and fixing the means by which He would wage His warfare.

Society for Biblical Study.

At the end of the present issue there will be found a brief account of *The Society for Biblical Study*, and the progress that has recently been made with regard to it.

THE RISE OF A BELIEF IN A FUTURE LIFE IN ISRAEL.

C. F. BURNEY.

I.

The attempt to trace with some amount of exactitude the growth of a belief in a future life in the religion of Israel is an undertaking beset with no little difficulty.

We have to bear in mind that the materials at our disposal are far too scanty to allow of a clearly defined sketch of the lines of development ; and we must beware of leaping to conclusions and then marshalling our evidence in proof by the aid of an imagination too facile at bridging the gaps which we must encounter. We must remember also—and this is a caution which has to be exercised in dealing with the growth of other religious beliefs both in Israel and among other races—that the evolution of the idea is, strictly speaking, logical rather than historical . I mean to say that the higher stages of thought are not invariably to be regarded as the later in time, as having developed out of and finally superseded the more crude. In the history of all intellectual processes it constantly happens that there arise minds which are above and in advance of the age which gives them birth ; which overleap certain stages in the unfolding of truth, and rise at once to conceptions which may not become the common property of their race until perhaps generations have passed by and the intermediate stages of thought have been slowly and laboriously worked out. Thus we are likely to go astray if we attempt to draw up a strictly chronological outline of the development of this, as of other religious beliefs.

One last caution remains. Those who believe that in the Old Testament we have the record of a revelation, partial and

fragmentary indeed, but divinely inspired and leading up to the manifestation of our Lord in the fulness of time, will realise that in many cases the statements of Old Testament writers and the ideas which they embody are susceptible of a deeper significance when read in the fuller light of New Testament revelation. Thus, for example, our Lord Himself teaches that the words of revelation to Moses at Horeb, "I am the God of thy Father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," contain implicitly the doctrine of a life beyond the grave, since "God is not the God of the dead, but the God of the living". We are not, however, at present concerned with this fuller significance which may be read into the Old Testament Scriptures. What we have to determine is the character of certain conceptions at the time at which they were enunciated, and the impression which they produced upon those who heard and debated, accepted or rejected them.

I do not, however, intend to imply by these preliminary remarks that our sources are too inadequate to enable us to determine the manner in which belief in a future life came to form an integral part of religious belief in Israel. There were in the history of the race great national crises which involved the breaking up of old ideas and the reconstruction of belief upon wider and sounder bases. A large part of Israel's literature groups itself about these periods of crisis and has to do with the vexed questions and phases of transition in religious thought which they involved. Thus we are able to trace broadly the progress of ideas from stage to stage, even where evidence is too slight and scanty to enable us to reconstruct in detail their historical evolution.

THE HOPE OF A FUTURE LIFE FINDS NO PLACE IN THE EARLIER RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

Speaking generally, it may be said that the doctrine of immortality finds no place in the religious thought of Israel prior to the exile. Certain ideas there were as to the state after death and the abode of the dead, but these belong to the common back-

ground of Semitic superstition, and have nothing to do with Israel's religion, the religion of Yahwe.

Among the Semites the abode of the departed was regarded as an underworld, *i.e.*, it was located under the earth ; the conception of the earth being that of a more or less flat surface of land, surrounded by the sea and resting ultimately upon the watery abyss. The Hebrew title for this underworld is *She'ol*, a term of which the etymology is unknown. Among the Babylonians the name employed was the Sumerian KI-GAL, the neo-Sumerian SHI-WAL, "the great land," and it has been suggested with some plausibility that *She'ol* may be a modified equivalent of this Sumerian title.¹ In any case the Hebrew and Babylonian conceptions of the character of the place itself are essentially identical. The Hebrew conception may aptly be illustrated from a passage in Job (x. 21-22) where the underworld is described as

A land of darkness and deep shade ;
A land of gloom, like black darkness itself ;
Deep shade without any order,
And where the light is like black darkness.

The inhabitants of *She'ol* are spoken of as *Repha'im*, a term which is best rendered "shades," meaning as it does "relaxed" or "flaccid" ones, mere semblances of their former selves. The existence of these beings in the underworld is most vividly portrayed in a passage in the "Taunt-song" against the King of Babylon in Isaiah xiv. Here the fate of the king after death is brought into salient contrast with his proud anticipation of a future exaltation to the circle of the gods.

She'ol from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming ;
It stirreth up the shades for thee,
Even all the chieftains of the earth,
It hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations.
All of them shall answer and shall say unto thee,
Art *thou too* become weak like us, become like unto us ?
To *She'ol* is brought down thy pomp, the music of thy viols ;
Beneath thee is spread the maggot, and the worm covereth thee.

¹ For this suggestion the writer is indebted to Mr. C. J. Ball.

How art thou fallen from heaven, oh shining one, son of the morning,
How art thou cut down to the ground, that didst lay low the nations?
And *thou*—thou saidst in thy heart, to heaven will I ascend,
Above the stars of God will I exalt my throne;
And I will sit upon the mount of assembly, in the uttermost parts of the north.
Yet unto She'ol shalt thou be brought down,
Unto the uttermost parts of the pit.
They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee,
They shall consider thee closely;
Is *this* the man who made the earth to tremble,
Who made kingdoms quake?
Who made the world a wilderness, and overthrew its cities,
Who released not his prisoners to their home?
All the kings of the nations, all of them,
Lie in honour, every one in his own house.
But thou art cast away from thy sepulchre like an abominable branch,
A garment of the slain that are thrust through with the sword,
That go down to the stones of the pit like a carcase trodden under foot.

She'ol was pictured as "the house of meeting for all living" (Job xxx. 23), good and bad without distinction finding their abode there.

There the wicked cease from raging,
And the weary are at rest.
There the prisoners are at ease together,
They hear not the voice of the taskmaster.
The small and great are there;
And the servant is free from his master.

—Job iii.17-19.

The same conception of the underworld was current among the Babylonians. They pictured it as—

The gloomy house, the dwelling of the God Irkalla,
The house from which those who enter go not forth,
The road whose way is without return,
The house whose enterers are deprived of light;
Dust is their sustenance, their food is clay;
Light they see not, in darkness they dwell;
They are clad like birds with a garb of wings;
Upon the door and its bolts there lies dust.

—*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, vi., p. 80.

We should gain no clear results were we to spend time in considering the relation conceived by the Hebrews as existing between body and soul or spirit. It is clear that She'ol is

distinguished from the grave. The body rests in the grave, or is ignominiously cast forth; the shade in any case is doomed to existence in She'ol. The shade, however, though disembodied, has a semblance of its former self by which it is recognisable. This we may gather from the extract which I have quoted which pictures the descent of the King of Babylon into She'ol. It is also clear from the narrative of Saul's visit to the witch of Endor, where the shade of Samuel, when raised, appears as "an old man . . . covered with a garment" (1 Sam. xxviii. 14). That some kind of relationship was conceived as existing between the dead body (buried or otherwise) and the shade in She'ol is probable. Burial in the family tomb, the being gathered to one's fathers, was desired as the final boon, and the carrying out of a father's wishes in this respect was the filial duty of his descendants. On the other hand, to be cast out unburied was the worst indignity which could be suffered: witness again the Taunt-song against the King of Babylon, and Jeremiah's prophecy against Jehoiakim, King of Judah (Jer. xxii. 19). A remarkable passage in Job xiv. 21, 22 speaks of the dead man as though in She'ol he were dimly conscious of the gnawing pains of bodily corruption in the grave, though oblivious of all that goes on in the world from which he has been severed.

His sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not,
And they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them.
Only his flesh upon him hath pain,
And his soul upon him mourneth.

Intercourse between the living and the dead was sought among the Hebrews through the medium of necromancy. Thus the witch of Endor, who is described as "mistress of a ghost" or "familiar spirit," is able by her art to raise the shade of Samuel, that he may be interviewed by Saul, and interrogated as to the future. The term *Yidh'ōni* or "knowing one," as the repository of such oracles, was applied sometimes to the shade itself and sometimes to the medium who was supposed to have the power of evoking it.

Such necromancy was, however, forbidden by Yahwe-religion. Deuteronomy xviii. 10, 11 forbids the existence in Israel of "one that consulteth a ghost or familiar spirit"; and it is stated in 1 Samuel xxviii. that Saul had put down all such necromancers and that they were only able to execute their art by stealth. In spite of such prohibitions, it appears that necromancy was largely practised during the period of the monarchy. Isaiah pictures it as the natural resource of the Judeans in their national stress, as against the word of Yahwe at the mouth of His prophet.

And when they shall say unto you,
Consult the ghosts and familiar spirits—
On behalf of the living unto the dead,
That chirp and that mutter!
Should not a people consult their God,
To get teaching and warning,
And should they not believe in this word,
Against which there is no counter-spell!
—Isa. viii. 19, 20 (following P. Ruben's rearrangement).

That the practise of necromancy was connected with a cult of ancestor-worship which flourished among the Hebrews the evidence is practically *nil*.

Such being the views commonly held in Israel as to the state of existence after death, it may be understood that the outlook upon the unknown future was dreary and distasteful in the extreme. As I have already observed, this future state as thus conceived was entirely unconnected with the religion of Yahwe. It was this that caused the keenest poignancy of despair to pious souls to whom in the present their relationship to Yahwe meant much. Thus in Hezekiah's poem, after his recovery from mortal sickness, we find the words:—

For She'ol cannot praise Thee, death cannot celebrate Thee.
They that go down into the pit cannot hope for Thy faithfulness.
The living, the living, he shall praise Thee as I do this day.
—Isa. xxxviii. 18, 19.

Or again, we find a Psalmist exclaiming:—

For in death there is no remembrance of Thee,
In She'ol who shall give Thee thanks?—Ps. vi. 5.

The dead praise not Yahwe,
says another poet,

Neither all they that go down into silence.—Ps. cxv. 17.

While yet another, in his despondency, describes himself as

Cast off among the dead,
Like the slain that lie in the grave,
Whom Thou rememberest no more ;
And they are cut off from Thy hand.—Ps. lxxxviii. 5.

And the same writer exclaims :—

Wilt Thou do wonders for the dead ?
Or shall the shades arise and give Thee thanks ?
Shall Thy kindness be told in the grave ?
Thy faithfulness in the place of destruction ?
Shall Thy wonders be known in the dark ?
And Thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness ?

Passages such as these remind us forcibly of the Greek conception of the joyless condition of existence after death, as voiced by the shade of Achilles :—

βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θηγεύμεν ἄλλῃ,
ἀνθρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῃ, φ' μὴ βίωτος πολλὸς εἴη,
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

—Od. xi., 489-491.

Rather I'd choose laboriously to bear
A weight of woes, and breathe the vital air,
A slave to some poor hind that toils for bread,
Than reign the sceptred monarch of the dead.

THE REASON WHY EARLY YAHWE-RELIGION LACKED A DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE.

If we now inquire the reason of the failure of early Yahwe-religion to extend beyond the present life and to illuminate the gloom of the future state, we shall find it no doubt in the fact that, prior to the eighth century B.C. (*i.e.*, the century which witnessed the labours of the first writing prophets, Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah), the old-time conception of Yahwe was strictly national. Yahwe-worship, at this stage, is best described as *monolatry* rather than *monotheism*. Yahwe was Israel's only God, and the obligation to worship Him and Him only was clear to His faithful adherents ; but this did not hinder

the belief that other nations might in like manner have *their own* national deities who had as real an existence as had Yahwe, though Israel was bound to these extraneous deities by no tie, and owed them no sort of allegiance. The conception of the state for Israel as for their neighbours was *theocratic*, i.e., the national God was regarded as *King* of His people, the earthly king as vicegerent of the national God. When war was carried on it was waged against the God of the hostile nation, quite as much as against the nation itself and its human monarch, and the national God was leader of His forces to battle against the Deity of the opposing army. Thus we find that Israel's national Deity Yahwe is particularly associated with the battlefield. He is Yahwe Sebha'oth, the God of armies, to whom is due success in battle. It is in accordance with this conception that we find that the call to arms was constantly the occasion for the revival of the national spirit of allegiance to Yahwe, after periods of religious decadence. Further, the fact is closely bound up with this conception of Yahwe as national Deity that the nation and not the individual was regarded as the religious unit. The relation between Yahwe and Israel was pictured under the form of a covenant, and to this covenant the parties were Yahwe on the one side and the nation on the other. The idea that covenant relationship existed between the Deity and individual Israelites as such seems to have been foreign to the religious conception so long as the view maintained that Yahwe was strictly the national Deity only. It is true that, at its foundation, Yahwe's covenant was pictured as concluded with individuals, in the persons of Israel's ancestors, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. But these figures were idealised as the founders of the nation, and represented to later thought the religious unity of the nation as a party to the covenant. Indeed, the fact that the covenant was believed to have been once for all concluded by Yahwe with Israel's righteous ancestors tended to emphasise the conception that it was a national covenant and to minimise the rights of the individual. Framed once for all with Abraham as the religious unit upon the human side, the covenant was independent

of infringement upon the part of individual members of the nation in later times. Such infringement involved the cutting off of the sinner from the nation and from the rights of the covenant, but it could not in any way abrogate the covenant itself. However great and widespread might be the growth of apostasy and the failure to live up to the covenant terms at any particular age, yet it never could become universal. There always must be found the righteous nucleus within the nation which held fast to the terms of relationship with Yahwe, the "seven thousand in Israel, every knee which has not bowed unto Baal and every mouth which has not kissed him"; and this righteous nucleus was the true Israel, the true nation with whom the covenant stood fast. Had this not been the case, *i.e.*, had apostasy ever become universal so as to have embraced the whole nation and to have involved the abrogation of the national covenant, then Yahwe would have proved Himself unfaithful to the covenant made once for all with faithful Abraham, a contingency in itself impossible and utterly to be repudiated as such by the national conscience.

The same point of view governed the conception of the Divine covenant with David. Made once for all with David as "the man after God's own heart," it involved the promise that David was always to have "a lamp" before Yahwe, the quenchless flame being emblematic of a perpetual posterity to sit upon his throne. This covenant, however, did not hinder the possibility that individual members of David's line might fail in their responsibilities and pay the penalty which unfaithfulness involved. Only they could not, through their sins, abrogate the covenant with David's line. This again was impossible under the terms of the covenant. The covenant was with David as representative of the dynasty; it was not with any individual member of the dynasty as an individual. This conception of the Davidic covenant is well illustrated by the words of Psalm lxxxix. 28-37 :—

My mercy will I keep for him for evermore,
And My covenant shall stand fast with him.
His seed also will I make to endure for ever,
And his throne as the days of heaven.

If his children forsake My law,
And walk not in My judgments ;
If they break My statutes,
And keep not My commandments ;
Then will I visit their transgression with the rod,
And their iniquity with stripes.
But My mercy will I not utterly take from him,
Nor suffer My faithfulness to fail.
My covenant will I not break,
Nor alter the thing that is gone out of My lips.
Once have I sworn by My holiness ;
I will not lie unto David ;
His seed shall endure for ever,
And his throne as the sun before Me.
It shall be established for ever as the moon,
And as the faithful witness in the sky.

THE NATION THE RELIGIOUS UNIT.

I have dealt at some length with this conception of the nation as the religious unit because it seems to me that it requires thinking over in order to be apprehended, and that when apprehended it explains much in connection with our subject which might otherwise remain obscure. The nation as such did not die, and therefore there was no question of the Divine covenant being annulled by death. The individual as such had no rights within the covenant : he was only a member of his clan which was a portion of the nation, and so he shared indirectly in the blessings of the national covenant so long as he continued to live up to its enactments. But the idea of individualism was always at this stage merged in collectivism. There was nothing repugnant to the religious conscience of the time that Yahwe should "visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation". Achan might by his trespass involve the destruction of his whole family, and Divine justice, so far from being impugned by the event, was in fact regarded as vindicated by it.

We gather then that the religious ideal of early times, great and lofty as it was in its assertion of the indestructibility of the Divine covenant with Israel, and capable of almost indefinite development in the hands of the later prophets, was at this stage very partial and one-sided, and, concentrating itself upon the

nation, it had little to offer to the individual. If in this life he had no standing in relationship with Yahwe in virtue of his distinct personality, what could he expect to possess in the state after death, to which, according to the conception of his time, Yahwe's activities were not extended?

RUDIMENTS OF A DOCTRINE OF IMMORTALITY IN EARLY TIMES.

It would, however, probably be a mistake to imagine that because, at the stage with which we are dealing, Israel's religion had nothing to offer to the individual in the way of a hope of a future life beyond the grave, therefore there was a complete acquiescence in this blank prospect, and men's minds never rose in aspiration to anything higher. There are a few passages in writings of a comparatively early date which may be said to contain the rudiments of a doctrine of immortality in so far as they picture the possibility of immortality as presenting itself to the mind of the writers. Such is the reference in Genesis iii. 22 (the narrative of the fall by the prophetic writer J.) to the tree of life which grew in Eden, whereof if man's first parents had eaten they might have lived for ever. Just the same conception occurs in the Babylonian Epic of Gilgameš. Gilgameš, in search of immortality, wins his way with great difficulty to the abode of Nuḥ-napištim, a man who, once human, has been raised by the gods to a place among the immortals, and who therefore may be hoped to possess the secret of immortality, if he can be prevailed upon to transmit it. Nuḥ-napištim relates to Gilgameš his strange story, which is the Babylonian counterpart of the Hebrew flood narrative (Nuḥ-napištim corresponding to Noah), and finally explains how that, after his escape from the flood in the ship which he had built, he was raised to immortality by the gods together with his wife, and made to dwell "in the distance, at the confluence of the streams," a locality which seems to correspond in its main conceptions to the Biblical Eden. The best that Nuḥ-napištim can do for Gilgameš is to direct him to search for a magic herb, called *šibu issaḫir amêlu*, i.e. "(When) old a man becomes young". Those

who eat of this herb will attain immortality. Gilgamesh is fortunate enough to discover and pluck the herb, but shortly afterwards, whilst he is bathing, a serpent snatches it away, and he loses for ever the chance of immortality which has actually come within his grasp. Both this story and the Hebrew story, which probably have their roots far back in a common source, illustrate the fact that there existed early speculations as to man's failure to obtain the immortality which was the lot of the gods.

We may notice also, in the earlier literature of Israel, the legends of the translations of Enoch and Elijah, individual cases in which men were believed to have escaped death and to have been raised to the society of God. There was not, however (so far as we have evidence) any argument from the particular to the general. Enoch, like Nuḥ-napištim, was a mysterious personage who on account of his piety had been raised above the common lot of humanity. Among the Babylonians certain of the early kings appear with the determinative of deity prefixed to their names; and the expectation of exaltation to the mountain of the gods is pictured as filling the mind of the King of Babylon in the "Taunt-song" of Isaiah xiv. which I have already quoted :—

And *thou*—thou saidst in thy heart,
To heaven will I ascend,
Above the stars of God will I exalt my throne;
And I will sit upon the mount of assembly,
In the uttermost parts of the north.

Such speculations as these, however, were, as may well be understood, far removed from any hope of a brighter future as the lot of ordinary humanity.

FACTORS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF A DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE.

We now have to notice the main factors which brought about a break-up in old conceptions and a further and higher development of religious thought in regard to the subject with which we are dealing.

I.—*The Rise of the Doctrine of Monotheism.*

The most important of these was the rise and development of the doctrine of *monotheism* in the eighth century B.C. Yahwe, hitherto the national God of Israel, becomes henceforth the God of the whole earth. The national gods of the nations around come to be no gods, mere idols, the work of men's hands.

When we associate the doctrine of Yahwe as the only God of the whole earth with the activity of the writing prophets of the middle and later part of the eighth century B.C., it does not follow that such a conception was hitherto altogether unthought of by higher minds in Israel. The prophetic narrative of the Creation (Gen. ii. 4 ff., part of the document which we distinguish by the symbol J.) pictures Yahwe-Elohim as the Creator of the world; and the date of this narrative, even in its present form, is doubtless to be carried back considerably earlier than the middle of the eighth century. Still, such a conception does not appear at an earlier stage to have been pressed home to its logical conclusion and to have influenced religious thought in general. When Amos propounded his doctrine that Yahwe had relations with the surrounding nations, and would judge them and Israel alike in accordance with their observance of a common standard of morality, his teaching must have fallen as an entirely new conception upon the minds of those to whom it was presented. *They* thought that because Yahwe was their national God He must be ready in the long run to favour and maintain His people in spite of moral laxity and a mere formal standard of religion; but the prophet argued that special privilege involved special responsibility, and that failure to discharge this debt would involve punishment even so severe as the destruction of the offenders: "You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities" (Amos iii. 2).

The doctrine that Yahwe was no mere national God, but the only God, as developed by Amos, carried with it the truth that He was the maker and sustainer of the world, and the one

supreme arbiter of men's thoughts and deeds. No part of the universe was beyond the reach of His hand, and so none could escape His power. "Though they dig into She'ol, thence shall my hand take them; and though they climb up into heaven thence will I bring them down. And though they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence; and though they be hid from my sight in the bottom of the sea, thence will I command the serpent, and he shall bite them" (Amos ix. 3).

Isaiah, a few years later than Amos, carries on the same monotheistic teaching in the southern kingdom. The majesty and holiness of Yahwe forms the theme upon which he works, and his favourite title for Yahwe is "The Holy One of Israel". Speaking of the day of Yahwe Seba'oth, *i.e.*, the day of His vengeance upon all that is repugnant to His holiness, he tells his hearers that "Yahwe alone shall be exalted in that day. And the idols shall utterly pass away" (Isa. ii. 17, 18). The Assyrian, though he knows it not, is merely a rod in Yahwe's hand for the execution of His vengeance upon the nations, and he in turn must suffer punishment for the haughty insolence with which he magnifies himself against Yahwe (Isa. x. 5 ff.).

If we seek along the historical horizon of the time for a reason why the monotheistic idea should have claimed prominence at just this stage in Israel's national life, our gaze must be arrested by the rapid progress of the Assyrian conquests. The spectacle of nations and their gods one after another falling helpless before the conqueror's resistless power may well have influenced the moulding of prophetic thought both in Israel and Judah. On the other hand, the reason why Isaiah should have anticipated any other fate for the small kingdom of Judah than that which had befallen the surrounding nations can be explained as nothing else than the Divine intuition which belonged to him as Yahwe's prophet. And the brilliant fulfilment of his predictions in the sudden arrest of the Assyrian's progress before the gates of Jerusalem must have gone far to confirm in the popular mind the truth of his assertion that Yahwe, and He alone, is the

God of the whole earth, who holds the fate of nations in His hand.

We may then regard the establishment of the doctrine of monotheism as the first great advance in the direction of a higher conception as to the future state. If Yahwe is supreme Deity of the Universe, then She'ol also must be found to come within the range of His hand, and its inhabitants need not be regarded as outside His care. These are inferences which now first emerge as possibilities; though, as we shall see, they do not appear to have been worked out to their conclusion until a long subsequent age.

II.—*The Rise of the Doctrine of Religious Individualism.*

The second important factor towards an advance in thought was the decline and downfall of the Judean kingdom in the early part of the sixth century B.C. The decay and destruction of the *nation* brought into prominence Yahwe's relation to the *individual*. At this period the great religious teacher was the prophet Jeremiah, and he may be regarded as the founder of the doctrine of religious individualism. Jeremiah laboured under no misapprehension as to the fate of the Judean kingdom. He clearly foresaw that its downfall and destruction were inevitable, and all his counsels made for unconditional submission to the Chaldean, a line of advice which brought down upon him the charge of disaffection, and rendered him so unpopular in Jerusalem that his life was more than once in grave danger.

Like the prophets who preceded him, Jeremiah looked forward to the establishment in the future of an ideal Messianic kingdom, after the chastisement so nearly impending had done its work, and the iniquity of his people had been purged away. But the moral regeneration of the people must come about through the realisation of the moral responsibility of the individual. The old idea, under which, as we have seen, the nation, not the individual, was the unit, had been tersely expressed in the popular proverb, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge" (Jer. xxxi. 29). This proverb summed

up the view of Divine justice which conceived the sins of the father to be visited on the children unto the third and fourth generation, a view which, with our knowledge of heredity and other social factors, we see to have a one-sided approximation to truth, but the glaring injustice of which as an inexorable law must tend to come into prominence so soon as the responsibility and rights of the individual begin to be realised. And the employment of the proverb itself suggests that the sense of this injustice had begun to assert itself in the popular mind. In the future, says Jeremiah, this proverb shall no more be used: "But every one shall die for his own iniquity: every man that eateth sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge".

And then follows the magnificent conception of the new covenant, unlike the former covenant with the nation at large which was graven on tables of stone, but written upon the hearts of its individual recipients: "This is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Yahwe; I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people: and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know Yahwe: for they shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith Yahwe; for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more" (Jer. xxxi. 33, 34).

The truth of individual responsibility, thus enunciated, was not allowed to fall to the ground. Ezekiel was one of the captives who had been carried into Babylonia with Jehoiachin in B.C. 597. He received his prophetic call in the fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin (B.C. 592), and the latest date in his book falls twenty-two years later (B.C. 570). He thus appears as a somewhat younger contemporary of Jeremiah; and he was carrying on his prophetic work among the exiles already in Babylonia whilst Jeremiah was endeavouring to gain a hearing in the doomed city of Jerusalem. Ezekiel (ch. xviii.) takes up the same proverb of the sour grapes, and, like Jeremiah, he asserts that Israel shall in the future have no occasion to use it, supporting his contention

by a series of elaborately worked out instances illustrative of the truth of the responsibility of the individual.

We may take it then, that it was at the crisis of the downfall of the Judean kingdom that the old idea of the nation as the religious unit began to be superseded by the view that the individual stood in a position of moral relationship towards Yahwe and was to be judged in accordance with his own deserts. With this step in advance there were opened up new possibilities of development in the doctrine of man's relationship to God, not merely in the present life but in the unseen state beyond the grave.

C. F. BURNEY.

ISRAEL AND PERSIA.

REV. CANON FOAKES-JACKSON, D.D., Dean of Jesus College, Cambridge.

(Continued from p. 140.)

ARTICLE III.

The interest in the relation of Persia to Israel is peculiar. The Persians are the first nation of Aryan stock with whom the people of Jehovah came into direct contact; they made their appearance, not as oppressors, but as deliverers welcomed with acclamation by the Jewish prophets, and further, they were the first non-idolatrous race with which Israel became acquainted. Their religion, moreover, like Judaism, was not a mere development of an ancestral cult, but had been communicated to them by a revered teacher. Like Judaism also it has survived to the present day. In approaching the subject of the influence of Persia on Judaism we are entering upon ground different to that which we have hitherto traversed. Hitherto we have been considering the development of the ancient religion of the Hebrews, which may in a sense be classed among the faiths of the past; now we begin to deal with Judaism as a living faith, which began to assume many of its most characteristic features under Persian influence.

ACTIVITY IN GREECE AND ISRAEL IN PERSIAN TIMES.

The importance of the appearance of Persia in the field of universal history is perhaps out of proportion to the actual greatness of the nation, though even this has been unduly disparaged. Persia was in fact the first great world power to

arise, the first conquering people to overflow the Western limits of the continent of Asia and to enter Europe, and the effect of her extension was to give an unprecedented stimulus to human thought and progress. The sixth and fifth centuries before Christ, when Persian influence was at its height, are among the most critical in the development of Western civilisation.

As has happened at other similar periods great revolutions in human thought were taking place in many lands simultaneously and independently. The intense religious activity among the Jews in Babylon and Judæa was contemporary with the intellectual movement in Attica: nor can it be a mere coincidence that the poems of Homer and the law of Moses are believed by many to have been collected and reduced to their present condition almost in the same age.

When we take this into account, we can hardly wonder at the interest with which the great evangelical prophet watched the career of Cyrus. "Who hath raised up one from the East?" he asks (Isa. xli. 2); and again he speaks of him as "the ravenous bird," the eagle which long blazed on its standards (Isa. xlv. 11). With no uncertain voice the greatest prophetic voice of the time marked him out as the one Anointed Prince, the expected Messiah alike of the chosen people and of all the surrounding nations. "Thus saith the Eternal One to Cyrus whom I have anointed, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him. Cyrus is my shepherd who shall perform all my pleasure" (Isa. xlv. 28).

Persia was in fact the signal for the awakening into life of the two small peoples whose influence upon humanity has been most abiding. Athens and Jerusalem—Marathon and the Return—the most striking of contrarieties, the most incongruous facts, were yet destined to combine to bring about modern modes of thought, were given life and vigour by Persian invasion and Persian patronage. "With the appearance of the Persians," says M. Quinet, quoted by Dean Stanley, "the movement of history begins and humanity throws itself into that restless march of progress which is never to cease" (*Jewish Church*, vol. ii.).

ZOROASTER AND THE ZEND-AVESTA.

Before, however, we speak of Persia's influence on Israel it may be well if we have before us an account of the Persian religion or rather that of Zoroaster.

"The religion of Zoroaster," says Mr. King, in his *Gnostic Gems*, "was a reformed version of the Creed anciently held by the inhabitants of Eritene in Bactria. For it is probable that the first gods of the Aryan race before it split into Indian and Zend were the powers of nature, *Indra*, thunder, *Mithra*, sunlight, *Vayu*, wind, *Agni*, fire, *Armaiti*, earth, *Soma*, intoxication. These powers were called Ahuras and Devas indifferently, but Zoroaster reduces all of them to the secondary rank of angels, using the name Deva in a bad sense only. The Zoroastrian was the established religion of the Persians at the time when they conquered Assyria; and to a great extent it superseded the material idolatry of the Babylonians whose gods Darius and Xerxes melted down without any scruple. But Mattei is of opinion that the College of Magi, established long before the Persian conquest of Babylon, accepted the new religion upon the change of masters retaining nothing of the old besides astrology and divination."

The Zend-Avesta (Text and Comment) is the doctrine of Zoroaster (Zarathushtra) comprised in eight parts written at different periods, the earliest between B.C. 1200-1000. It was reduced to its present form by Ardeshir, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty (third century A.D.).

The Supreme Being is called Boundless Time. He is beyond human comprehension and can only be adored in silent veneration, man only knows him from what emanates from him. The highest emanation is Ormuzd, the Lord of Light. The world is created by his word. With Ormuzd are the six Amshaspands. There is a regular heavenly hierarchy of Izeds and Feroners, messengers of Ormuzd. The last named are the protectors of mankind, and they will purify the good at the Resurrection.

The younger son of the Supreme Being fell by pride; for

this he was thrust into outer darkness for 12,000 years. He opposes Ormuzd with a diabolical hierarchy of Devas. The visible world was created in six periods, light, water, earth, plants, beasts, man.

Ormuzd by his word produced Life or the Bull (the word is the same in Zend). This Ahriman destroyed, but out of the seeds thereof Ormuzd created man and woman. Ahriman bribes these by fruit and milk. He creates the evil beasts to oppose the good, the work of Ormuzd. All creation is a strife between good and evil. A prophet (Sosioch) shall in the end regenerate the world, the dead will rise, Ahriman and his demons will be purified in a lake of molten metal, and in the end all will enjoy happiness in the new heaven and new earth. Headed by the prophet (Sosioch) all will sing hymns to God, the Supreme Power.

How far the Persians who overthrew the Babylonian Empire were followers of this cultus is a matter of dispute. It was at one time supposed that Cyrus was the enemy of idolatry, the follower of a purer worship than that of the gods of Babylon, and as such longed for by the Jewish exiles. Then came the discovery of the inscriptions which show that he was able to enter Babylon in peace with the aid of the priests and was a devout worshipper of Bel and Merodach. It was afterwards assumed that Darius Hystaspis and his son Xerxes were the first rulers to profess Mazdaism. Now, however, there is a tendency in an opposite direction. "If," says the article in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, "Cyrus on his Babylonian cylinder calls himself a worshipper of Marduk as Cambyses appears on the Egyptian monuments as an adorer of the gods of Memphis and Sais, it was only the priests' diplomacy to which the kings did not object for political reasons. . . . Darius and Xerxes, though they avowed Mazdaism, did the same."

The purity of the Persian religion is also doubtful. It would appear that the religion of Zoroaster was professed only by a few in early times, and that those who held it also worshipped the gods of their Iranian ancestors. Herodotus, however, notices

their hatred of images, which were not to be found in their temples.

But the short sketch I have made of the system of the Zend-Avesta is of itself sufficient to show what resemblances there are to some developments of Judaism. I do not think that we can assert that all these developments are due to Persian influence ; all we can safely maintain is that whereas before the exile the Hebrew religion was a somewhat meagre and perhaps unimaginative belief, looking to virtue's reward in a prosperous life on earth, after the exile it appears as a varied and somewhat poetical form of faith enriched by many fancies and not afraid to penetrate into the mysteries of life and death, heaven and hell, creation and futurity.

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL.

It was perhaps due to Persian influence that Judaism began to take an interest in the problem of evil. In early days the Hebrews were content to accept the belief that all things, good and evil alike, came from Jehovah. Pain and all the evils of life were sent by God to punish sin and disobedience, nothing happened save by His intervention. "Shall there be evil in the city and the Lord hath not done it?" Even temptation to sin came from Him, as when David was moved to number Israel (2 Sam. xxiv. 1). Not that Jehovah did not love righteousness and act righteously, but all things came from Him. This was satisfactory enough as long as evil of every description was considered the result of sin ; but a time came when the Israelites began to realise that suffering was the lot of the innocent as well as the guilty, and then the problem of evil presented itself as it does in Job. Evil then appears as a power, opposed to God yet not entirely beyond His control, which delights in tormenting His saints, not, however, without permission of God who regards suffering as a trial of their faith. In Zechariah, who prophesied when the Jews were distinctly under Persian influences, we find Satan no longer the minister of God sent to try mankind, but the

enemy of God's people, the accuser who stood before the tribunal of Jehovah to procure the condemnation of Judah in the person of its high priest Jeshua. From this is a comparatively short step to regard him as the enemy of the righteous, the being who provokes them to do evil, and so in 1 Chronicles xxi. it is Satan who tempts David to number Israel. In "Wisdom" Satan is identified with the serpent in the story of the fall. In addition to this, Judaism developed the conception of a realm of darkness. Evil spirits play an important part in its system. We get a good example of this in the strange story of the marriage of Tobias. There the demon Asmodeus was in love with Sara, the daughter of Raguel, and killed no less than seven of her husbands on the night of their marriage. Tobias, the son of Tobit, however, put him to flight by the advice of the angel Raphael. "And when they had supped," we read, "they brought Tobias in unto her. And as he went he remembered the words of Raphael and took the ashes of the perfumes, and put the heart and liver of the fish thereupon, and made a smoke therewith. The which smell when the evil spirit had smelled, he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him" (Tobit viii. 2-4).

Now this Asmodeus is not a Hebrew but a Persian demon. He is one of the seven archdemons who are opposed to the seven Mazdean archangels called Aeshma and is the impersonation of anger and rapine. It is hardly necessary to do more than allude to the importance of demonology in the New Testament, of the possessed by evil spirits of the "Prince of this world" spoken of by our Lord, of the prince of the powers of the air in St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. As for the Talmud, it is full of allusions to the demons, their names, their attributes and so on. I am far from maintaining that all this system is Persian in origin ; but it seems that the impulse to expand the early views of the powers of evil which characterises Judaism after the captivity came from contact with Persia.

DUALISM.

The realisation that evil is an actual power in the world is a very important step in the development of theology. An absolutely bald monotheism which assigns to God the responsibility for everything which happens is liable to render it almost impossible to admit His perfect righteousness. There is a great difference between dualism and the acknowledgment of the existence of an evil spirit or evil spirits. The Persians were in a sense dualists. Ormuzd and Ahriman were worshipped on equal terms. Altars were raised to both and Amestris sacrificed "seven children to the God of darkness and of the lower regions" (Herod. vii. 114). Dualism is, in fact, the recognition of good and evil as two distinct powers of equal authority and therefore equally open to propitiation. Yet the Zend-Avesta is not purely dualistic in doctrine because it teaches the ultimate triumph of good.

Judaism is of course free from dualism ; nevertheless, in acknowledging the existence of Satan and his angels as powers inferior to God, it recognised the truth that there is evil in the world of a kind which cannot be attributed to a God of perfect purity, and it was therefore able to support the belief, despite the undoubted fact of the existence of evil, that God is essentially good. Neither it nor Christianity, however, ever permitted attempts to placate the powers of evil, and held firmly to the omnipotence of God and His final victory.

ANGELS.

The importance of angels in the system of Zoroaster is evident, nor can we deny that in the Old Testament there is a very great difficulty in distinguishing between the angels or messengers of Jehovah and Jehovah Himself. After the captivity, however, the doctrine of angels becomes more marked. The angelic guides of the prophet Zechariah, Michael and Gabriel in the Book of Daniel, Raphael in Tobit, are indications of that

which played so great a part in the development of Jewish and Christian thought, art and devotion. The realm of light crowded with spiritual beings, like that of darkness the abode of demons, took hold of the imagination.

THE FUTURE LIFE.

A very important part of the system of Zoroaster is its insistence upon the future life. The life of man it is said falls into two parts, its earthly portion and that which is lived beyond the grave. The lot assigned to him after death is the result and consequence of his life upon earth. No religion has more clearly grasped the ideas of guilt and merit. A strict reckoning of the works of men here below will be kept in heaven. After death on the third night the soul arrives at the Accountant's Bridge over which lies the way to heaven. Here takes place the disclosure of all its past life. The good and evil are weighed by two angels. Should they be even the soul passes into an intermediate state.

In some cases the very ideas of the New Testament are foreshadowed in the Zend-Avesta. The Good Spirit rises to greet the redeemed soul who enters into the joy of his Lord, the dead rise every one in his due order. There is also a suggestion of Daniel's vision of the books being open at the judgment. It is of course a disputed point as to whether the belief of the resurrection held by the Jews was not ancient, or possibly of Babylonian origin. But whatever its source it seems certain that the rapid development of the belief between the exile and the coming of our Lord was stimulated by Persian influence.

ESCHATOLOGY AND MESSIANIC HOPES.

Besides the resurrection another idea was certainly fostered by the contact of Judaism with Persia. A sort of Messianic hope underlies the whole of the teaching of Zoroaster. He believes, as did our Lord's disciples, as perhaps all great religious teachers do, that the end is very near. But at the end of the ages

a great prophet is to arise and restore all things. Zoroaster appeared at the end of the tenth millenium, a prophet is to come at the end of each thousand year, and finally Sosioch comes. Thus a prophetic dispensation leading up to a Messiah is part of the Persian system. The hope of Israel had long been fixed on this, but henceforward it was to be connected with the last days when a new heaven and a new earth were to come into being. We see this in the Apocalyptic literature, in the Book of Enoch, and in our Gospels. The Messianic hope received at least its stimulus from Persia.

It is here necessary only to point out the undoubted fact that the Persians had a theory of their own as to the last days. Ormuzd will summon all his forces for a final struggle and break the power of evil for ever ; by his help the faithful will achieve the victory over their enemies. The judgment will then come, and then will begin the undivided kingdom of heaven and earth. These hopes in different language are repeated constantly in the Jewish writings of the age of the Apocrypha and the New Testament.

THE VIRTUE OF TRUTH.

The famous saying that the Persians educated their young nobles *ἰππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀλθεύειν* shows the high value set by them on the virtue of truthfulness.

The Old Testament says much on this subject, but nevertheless the most prominent virtue of its great characters does not seem to have been what we call straightforwardness. The fact that the Persians made a practice of telling the truth marks them out among the nations of antiquity, and was a cause of much astonishment to the Greeks. I do not know whether the Jews learned to value this virtue from the Persians, but they might well have done so, and certainly they remarked the fact that when once the king had made a decree there was no going back from it. "The law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not" has almost passed into a proverbial saying from its employment in the Book of Daniel.

PERSIAN KINGS AND ISRAEL.

It is worthy of attention that we have no example of a wicked King of Persia in the Bible. To the Jews at any rate the Persian monarchy seems to have shown consideration. Cyrus permitted the return; Darius Hystaspis allowed the temple to be built; Astaxerxes Longimanus was the generous patron of Nehemiah, and also furnished Ezra with the means of conducting a large number of Jews to their native land.

The court of Persia is the scene of one of the most curious narratives in the Bible, that of the Book of Esther. It is unnecessary to recount the story of Haman and Mordecai. Without however entering upon any of the vexed questions raised by the book, especially that of its historical character, I may say that it seems to me to furnish a proof that the Jewish relations with the Persian kings had produced a strong effect on the imagination of the nation. Whatever explanation may be given of the origin of the book, and however improbable many circumstances may appear, it is certain that this much is true, that the writer knew something of Persian customs, and that it is possible that the Jewish nation may have been in danger of extermination. Josephus mentions that the Jews suffered persecution at a later date at the hands of the Persians.

PERSIAN INFLUENCE ON DANIEL.

In the Book of Daniel there are a few points to which it is desirable to call attention. We need not enter into the vexed subject of Darius the Mede, nor whether Media and Persia are separate kingdoms. All that is necessary is to show that the writer knew enough of his period to distinguish quite clearly between the Empire of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, and that of Darius the Mede and Cyrus the Persian. It is Nebuchadnezzar who makes the image of gold, and Belshazzar and his friends who praise the gods of gold and silver, etc. But there is no charge of idolatry against Darius. He forbids men to pray to any God for forty days, he never asks them to worship an

image. Note also the decrees of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iii.) and Darius. No God can deliver after this sort says the polytheist. "I make a decree," says Darius, "that men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel . . . his kingdom is that which shall not be destroyed and his dominion shall be even unto the end." Here we have an echo of Persian ideas—perhaps Darius is thinking of Ormuzd. The judgment at the last day and the open books, the thousands who ministered to the Ancient of Days and the ten thousand who stood before him, the one like the Son of Man coming with the Ancient of Days, the everlasting kingdom of Him whom all dominions shall obey, the war in heaven, Michael, one of the chief princes of the angels, all these and many more are ideas which have their parallels in the Persian system and show how developed Judaism became since the captivity. Whether Daniel is Maccabean or an earlier book the influence of Persia seems to me to be manifest and the writer was evidently under its spell.

CONCLUSIONS.

And now let me try and bring before you a few conclusions as to what we have been discussing. In the case of Persia we have another religion not altogether dissimilar to Judaism influencing Jewish thought, bringing the Jews into contact with fresh ideas, or at any rate making them realise the importance of much which they had hitherto put on one side. The Hebrew religion before the captivity was in a sense inclined to be prosaic. I do not deny the truth of the seventh article of the Church of England that the fathers did not only look to transitory promises, but the whole teaching of even so spiritual a book as Deuteronomy is, Do well and you will prosper. If we collect passages regarding the future life from the older books we see how meagre were the ideas regarding the state beyond the grave, how little the imagination was allowed to penetrate the mysteries of the world to come. Look at the eschatology: read by the light of our knowledge, "the day of the Lord" in the prophets may point

to the Messiah, but how little must it have conveyed to their hearers! And then turn to the literature after the captivity, not to the somewhat dry histories of the Chronicler, but to such books as Zechariah and Daniel. The one with the angels and the horses passing throughout the world, the other with its splendid visions, its rich imagery, its heavenly throne and countless angels, the judgment seat, the everlasting kingdom. The book is a veritable treasure-house of poetic religion. Whatever its date it represents an enriched Judaism, a religion full of great thoughts—as Dr. Westcott called it, “the first philosophy of history”.

And we come to ask ourselves, Is it an entirely right tendency which seeks to reduce religion to its baldest and simplest form? Is it not more just to see in it an appeal to all the emotions of the heart of man? Is for example a Christianity confined to a few sayings of our Lord the highest and purest? Are we the better for excluding all elements but a few moral principles? To my mind the rich imagination of Daniel, Ephesians, the Apocalypse, which have inspired the art and poetry, the hopes and fears of the Church, are elements which can never be banished from the faith.

One more thought. What the final verdict of criticism on the Old Testament will be I am unable to say. It is quite possible that much now said to be absolutely settled will be reversed by new discovery of monuments or documents. But whatever happens the old method of regarding the Scriptures will not, I think, be resumed. They will be studied, revered, used as guides of life. I devoutly hope that they will be seen to be more not less wonderful than they were supposed to be; but the reverence, admiration, obedience paid to them will be intelligent and not superstitious. They will, I think, be recognised not so much as a storehouse of proofs to confirm what we now consider true or of oracles hard to interpret, but rather a revelation of God in the past, a record of the experience of men in bygone days, and it is from such that we learn to see what may be in store for us in the future. In the past men saw in the Bible a final revelation given in all its purity in remote antiquity, now we

perhaps see the growth of a revelation which will increase in splendour as we learn to appreciate it more. In the Old Testament we have the story of a people who were always learning. Their masters were often harsh and cruel, sometimes they were bad, sometimes they preserved one truth amid much that was false. But Israel learned from its oppressors, from the degenerate races among whom it dwelt, from its misfortunes, from its deliverances. Its true greatness was that it was taught of God, and God teaches us as He taught the holy men of old, πολυμερῶς καὶ ποιοτρόπως.

APPENDIX.

The Assuan Papyri.

Of the condition of the Jews under the Persians we have quite recently a new and unsuspected revelation in the discovery of a bundle of Aramaic documents at Syene, the modern Assuan. Readers of Mr. Edwyn Bevan's *House of Seleucus* will remember that he throws great doubt as to the existence of a dispersion of the Jews in Egypt before the days of the Maccabees. He points out that which is obvious to every student, that we have absolutely no contemporary evidence for an earlier settlement; that of Josephus, Pseudo Aristeeas and Philo all being of a late date. The statement in the Book of Jeremiah that the prophet was carried into Egypt by Jewish fugitives from Nebuchadnezzar is hardly sufficient to prove that their descendants formed a distinct Hebrew community without the support of further testimony. Such testimony is now forthcoming in the documents acquired by Mr. Robert Mond and Lady William Cecil at Assuan. They are perhaps the more interesting because they are purely secular legal deeds relating to property and marriage settlements, and the religious element only appears in the oaths taken in the course of law. They are also carefully dated with a precision that leaves nothing wanting, the Babylonian and Egyptian days of the month being both given, as well as the year of the Persian

monarch. The deeds cover a period of sixty years, the earliest bearing date B.C. 471, the last year of the reign of Xerxes, and the latest B.C. 411. Thus we have a series of Jewish documents within little more than a century of the deportation of Jeremiah to Egypt and exactly contemporary with Ezra and Nehemiah. The language is Aramæan, and the character adopted approaches the ordinary square letters to which we are accustomed in modern Hebrew, though the distinction between final and medial letters is not so marked as at present. The square character, according to tradition, was introduced by Ezra on his return to Jerusalem. Curiously enough there is the same confusion between ארעא and ארקא, both meaning "land," in these documents as there is in Jeremiah x. 11, an Aramaic sentence in the midst of the Hebrew book. The names are for the most part Hebrew, but there is also an admixture of Egyptian, Persian and Babylonian. There is the Jewess Mibhtāyah, elsewhere called Miphtāyah, whose marriage to the Egyptian As-Hor and the affairs of their family occupy a considerable part of these family deeds. In the first papyrus we have Qoniyah קנייה; Zadok צדק (1 Kings i. 7, Neh. xiii. 13); Zechariah זכריה (1 Chron. ix. 37, Ezek. x. 36); Mahseiah מחסיה (Jer. xxxii. 12); Pelatiah פלטיה (Neh. x. 22); the son of Ahio אחיו (2 Sam. vi. 3, 1 Chron. xiii. 7); Shemaiah שמעיה (Jer. xxix. 24); the son of Hosea הושע (Hos. i. 1); Shallum שלם (Neh. vii. 45); the son of Hoshiah הושעיה (Neh. xii. 32). It will be observed that even the less common names have their Biblical counterparts and, as the references show, they are as a rule represented in the books of Jeremiah, Ezra and Nehemiah which are almost contemporary with the documents before us. I can find, however, no equivalent in the Bible to the first name, Qoniyah (? possession of Jehovah), nor for the lady's appellation Mibhtāyah (מבטח יהוה, confidence of Jehovah). It is interesting to observe that these Jews were accustomed even in their dealings with heathen to swear by Jehovah, יהו (Pap. B 4), יהוה (Pap. E 14), Who probably had an altar or synagogue in Syene. The importance of the discovery of these papyri can hardly be over-estimated, since we have the plainest evidence of a Jewish

diaspora on the southern frontier of Egypt in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, engaged evidently in those commercial occupations which have always been carried on with such consummate ability by the Hebrew race. The plain business character of the documents is a strong if indirect proof of the accuracy of the Biblical records in regard to the period of the exile and dispersion.

The Assuan papyri are interesting as showing the position of the Jews to the Persians during the occupation of Egypt by the latter. In the first place there seems to be no distinction between the Jews and the Aramæans, both terms being employed indifferently to describe the same people. There was also a court of the Hebrews (דִּינָא דִּי עֲבֵרָי), but whether this was purely Jewish or not is quite uncertain. Perhaps Hebrews is used in as wide a sense as it is by Joseph in Gen. xl. 15, when he describes himself as stolen "from the land of the Hebrews". The Jews were not full citizens but sort of *metoikoi* attached to powerful Persian patrons, as the curious phrase לְרֵגֶל, "to the foot of," or as Dr. Sayce suggests לְדָגֶל, "to the standard of," suggests.

The most complete religious toleration appears to have existed. Mibhtahyah, before she became the wife of As-Hor, swore by Jehovah, but after her marriage by the Egyptian goddess Sati; and this "in the court of the Hebrews". She seems, however, to have converted her husband, who takes the name of Nathan in some of the later documents. The altar or synagogue of Jehovah stood in a public place in the town. Curiously enough the Jews had to observe the Egyptian rule that legitimacy of birth was recognised through the mother. As-Hor's children are Jews and as such have no rights as citizens, and we cannot fail to be reminded of Timothy whom St. Paul circumcised in Asia Minor because his mother was a Jewess, "though all knew that his father was a Greek". Finally, as Dr. Sayce says in his introduction to these interesting papyri, "A fresh light is thrown by them on the history and character of the Aramaic language as it was spoken and written in the western

provinces of the Persian Empire in the fifth century B.C. New words and meanings are added to the Aramaic dictionary, . . . while the origin of Biblical Chaldee is at length explained to us."

F. J. FOAKES-JACKSON.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AND THE MACCABEES.

A STUDY IN TWO PARTS.

PART I.—ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., D.Litt.

The heroic struggle of a little band of Jewish patriots with the King of Syria, commemorated by Josephus and in the books of Maccabees, has an undying interest for all lovers of liberty and has also some special points of contact with the thoughts and aspirations of our own time. It was not merely a struggle between tyranny and freedom. Antiochus represented Hellenism, the religion of Nature, the victory of the Beautiful over the Holy ; while the Maccabees fought for a strong, stern, uncompromising faith in Jehovah, the God who had made covenant with their fathers and claimed a covenant-obedience from them. "Art for Art's sake" was, perhaps we might say, the unconscious motto of the Hellenist, while something of the intensity and at the same time of the narrowness of Puritanism was characteristic of the triumphant Maccabee.

Again, the sufferings which Israel for a time endured at the hands of the Seleucid lords of Asia vividly suggest some of the tragedies which have lately been enacted in another great empire of even vaster extent than that of the Antiochi, while the hatred which the Jew inspired in many of the neighbouring nations points to something in the national character which continues to this day and prompts the anti-Semitic movement of modern politics. But after all it is the religious interest of the struggle that is rightly uppermost in our minds. "The noble army of martyrs," says the great hymn of the Church, "praise Thee, O God."

As has been remarked by a modern historian,¹ "The figure

¹ E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii., 175.

of the martyr, as the Church knows it, dates from the persecution of Antiochus: all subsequent martyrologies derive from the Jewish books which recorded the sufferings of those who in that day 'were strong and did exploits'."

Let me try briefly to bring before you the two mighty opposites in the strife, in this present paper Antiochus Epiphanes, King of Syria, and, in a subsequent paper, Maccabean Israel.

Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes, was descended in the fifth generation from Seleucus, one of the fortunate players in the game of crown-making and crown-losing which was enacted for twenty troublous years after the death of Alexander the Great. The more we read of the career which was ended by Alexander's premature decease, the more wonderful does it seem. Macedonian conquest was one of the very few victories with any approach to permanence that Europe has won in its age-long struggle with Asia. Rome, Russia, England, have conquered great tracts of Asiatic territory, but will it be the judgment of history that any of them have stamped their image upon it with an abiding impress? The spirit of Hellas, hovering behind the Macedonian phalanx, did undoubtedly Hellenise for many centuries almost the whole of Western Asia. I need not waste words in enforcing this universally admitted fact of history. It is enough to refer to the mere existence of the Greek New Testament. But for Alexander the Great and his three world-transforming victories of Granicus, Issus and Arbela, Aramaic, not Greek, would have been the language used by Evangelists and Apostles in the composition of the book which stands at the head of the world's literature.

But the mighty king died and his kingdom was broken and divided toward the four winds of heaven. Let us see how the wind blew upon its eastern quarter.

There is something attractive in the history of Seleucus, the far-off ancestor of Antiochus. Born probably in the same year with Alexander, and emerging to notice as a young but efficient officer in his army, he at first plays no prominent part in the battlings for empire between the "Successors" (the *Diadochi*);

but at length he gets a place in the first rank as Satrap of Babylonia. He is overmastered by a jealous rival, the mighty Antigonus : he flies for his life to the court of his old friend, Ptolemy, King of Egypt, but returns before long and in a daring expedition, not unlike that of Garibaldi in 1860, confronting the forces of a great kingdom at the head of only a thousand followers, he succeeds in winning back his lost satrapy and from that time forward sits in the palace of Babylon as lordly and as firm seated on his throne as Nebuchadnezzar himself. This wonderful return and recovery of empire took place in the year B.C. 312, and from that date, commonly called "The Era of the Seleucidæ,"¹ all events were reckoned for many centuries in the Grecian East, as in Greece itself they were reckoned by Olympiads, and in Rome from the foundation of the city.

In the thirty years which followed this return, Seleucus utterly overthrew Antigonus, made himself supreme over the eastern part of the Empire to the Jaxartes and the Indus, and finally, by his victory over another of "the Successors," Lysimachus, became the undoubted lord of Asia Minor. Thus his power extended over all the vast regions which we now call Turkey in Asia, Persia and Afghanistan, from the Dardanelles to the Punjab. This was the climax of Seleucian greatness : none of his descendants ever ruled over so wide a domain. Seleucus himself seemed to be on the point of adding Macedonia to his Empire, the homeland which all these "Successors" longed for in the midst of their Oriental magnificence. The victory over Lysimachus left Macedonia prostrate before him, but immediately after he had crossed into Europe, while he was, with antiquarian zeal, examining an old monument, said to be the altar of the Argonauts, he was foully murdered by the son of his old friend Ptolemy, a scoundrel to whom he had given shelter and hospitality when his crimes had banished him from his father's house.

The death of Seleucus happened B.C. 281 : the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes a little more than a century later, B.C. 176.

¹ This chronological system is the only one known in the books of Maccabees.

I am not going to trace the history of the Seleucid Empire during that century, but I must call your attention to the fact of its greatly reduced extent at the close of the period. The murder of Seleucus was itself a terrible blow to his still imperfectly organised kingdom. Then his son, Antiochus Soter, the saviour, had to bear the brunt of the terrible Gaulish invasion (278) which was the distant precursor of the storms that overthrew the Roman Empire, the invasion which has left its mark on our New Testament in the title of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. The sixteen elephants of Antiochus enabled him to win a notable victory over the invaders, but the Gauls remained a foreign body in the realm, a disturbing element in the politics of Asia Minor. At this time also, partly perhaps in consequence of the Gallic anarchy, arose the powerful dynasties, half Greek, half Oriental, which ruled in Cappadocia, in Bythinia and in Pergamus, and grievously curtailed the power of the Seleucid kings in Western Asia.

A generation later (about B.C. 240) when the House of Seleucus was sorely hampered by family dissensions, a Scythian chief named Arsaces conquered Parthia and set up there in the east of Persia (as we now call it) an independent kingdom which blocked the way to Bactria and separated the Seleucid kings from the young and not unpromising Hellenic civilisation for which the victories of Alexander had opened the way in cities like Merv, Herat and Candahar. From that time forward the loss of all the territory east of the Tigris was only a question of time.

Meanwhile there was a perpetually simmering feud between the descendants of Seleucus and those of his old comrade Ptolemy. Sometimes the feud would be suspended for a short time when a Ptolemy married a Cleopatra or an Antiochus married a Berenice, the daughter of a king of the rival house, but often these dynastic alliances were themselves the cause of fresh wars. The main subject of dispute, however, was always the same, the question who should possess Southern Syria and Palestine, or as it was called in the political language of that day, the Satrapy of

Phœnicia and Coele-Syria. The term Phœnicia needs no explanation except to observe that this narrow strip of coast extended far north of Tyre and Sidon, the chief Phœnician cities, and in fact came within a hundred miles of Antioch itself. But Coele-Syria, or the hollow Syria, though an appropriate name enough for that which is now called the Bukáa, the long and beautiful valley which lies between Libanus on the west and Anti-Libanus on the east, is a strange name to apply to a region which included what is to us the infinitely more interesting region of Palestine. For this country, from Dan even to Beer-sheba, is emphatically a land that is convex rather than concave : a high central ridge of mountains rising between the maritime plain in the west and the deep gorge of Jordan in the east. However so, as the Satraps of Ptolemy and Antiochus named it, we must be content to receive it, always remembering that when the historians talk of Coele-Syria, they include therein that old battle-ground between Egypt and Assyria, the land that was given to the children of Israel for a possession.

The grievance of the Seleucid kings with reference to Coele-Syria was an old one. When Ptolemy and Seleucus joined their forces in order to war against the mighty Antigonos, the Egyptian king stipulated for Coele-Syria as his share of the spoil. Before the day of battle, however, his heart seems to have failed him and he slunk out of the hollow Syria almost as soon as he entered it. This left the stress of the conflict to fall on Seleucus and his other allies, and when in the decisive battle of Ipsus (B.C. 301) Antigonos was utterly overthrown, Seleucus not un-naturally claimed Phœnicia and Coele-Syria as his own. As Ptolemy, however, had again moved his army northwards and occupied the two provinces, Seleucus had to content himself with a protest. "For old friendship's sake he would take no active measures to possess himself of the territory, but he would know in future how to deal with a friend who thus grasped more than his share."

Thus then, when the game of empire-sharing was ended, Palestine and the Phœnician coast fell to the lot of the Ptolemies

and so remained, under Egyptian rule, for more than a century. It is important to remember this fact, since one sometimes sees it stated that at the division of Alexander's empire, Palestine became part of the Asiatic kingdom of the family of Seleucus.¹ In point of fact the Jews were at least twice as long under the rule of the Ptolemies as under the rule of the Seleucidæ, and their connection with the latter dynasty was a very recent affair when the great revolt of the Maccabean heroes took place. It was about the year 201 that Antiochus III. made the final conquest of Palestine, winning a decisive victory over Scopas, the Ptolemaic general, at beautiful Banias hard by the sources of the Jordan. In the year 141, by the expulsion of the Syrian garrisons from the fortresses which they still held, Simon the Maccabee achieved the practical independence of the Jewish State, and under his son, John Hyrcanus, that independence was fully recognised by the Seleucid kings. The period of effective supremacy of the Antiochi over Israel cannot be stated at more than sixty years.

It is to be observed that for some reason or other the rule of the Ptolemies was always more popular in Palestine than that of the Seleucids. "Whenever the Seleucids did occupy Palestine, they took it by force and held it by force." This is the assertion of Professor Mahaffy, who proceeds to discuss the reason for this difference between "the king of the north" and "the king of the south". Something he attributes to the pleasant manners and courtesy of the first Ptolemy, and something to the traditional dislike of the Jews to potentates who seemed to them the successors and representatives of their eastern despots, Hazael, Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar, and at whose hands they had suffered grievous oppression in bygone centuries. But he attaches more weight to the generally kind and friendly policy adopted by Ptolemy towards the Jews, and contrasted therewith the over-zeal with which Seleucus and his successors probably pursued their policy of Hellenising their Semitic sub-

¹ E.g., in Condor's little book on *Judas Maccabeus*, p. 13.

jects. "Thus while Ptolemy would provide for any number of Jewish emigrants in Egypt, and make room in their homes for the rest, Seleucus (or Antiochus) would crowd the country with heathen settlers, privileged in their cities, offering a bad example and much inducement to follow it to the ambitious youth of Judæa." ¹

The career of Antiochus III., surnamed The Great,² was one of remarkable vicissitudes. In six years (from 210-204) he conducted a series of successful campaigns which restored the supremacy of the Seleucid House from the Tigris to the Indus, reducing the Parthian king, and all other chieftains who had claimed to exercise independent rule, to subordination—unfortunately only temporary subordination—to the great Hellenic Empire.

Soon after came the series of wars and alliances which in 201 made him master of the long-coveted land, Coele-Syria. But there ended his good fortune. His ignorance of the real conditions of the problem and the persuasions of Hannibal, the eternal enemy of Rome, brought him into collision with the great world-conquering Republic, a collision which brought him such swift and surprising ruin as might befall a savage ignorantly meddling with a full-charged electric dynamo.

After his crushing defeat at Magnesia (B.C. 190) he had to submit to the ignominious conditions imposed upon him by the Roman Senate: the entire evacuation of Asia Minor beyond Mount Taurus: the payment of 15,000 talents (£3,000,000) to Rome, and 400 (£80,000) to Rome's ally, the King of Pergamos, the surrender of all his elephants and all but ten of his battle-ships, the expulsion of Hannibal from his kingdom, and lastly the delivery to Rome of twenty hostages, one of whom was to be his own younger son. That son was Antiochus Epiphanes. Three years later (B.C. 187) the Great King perished in a struggle with

¹ Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 90.

² Bevan thinks, however, that this title was rather a revival of the old appellation "The Great King," as applied to the monarchs of the East than an epithet meant to distinguish between Antiochus III. and other Antiochi.

the obscure tribe of the Elymaei, who dwelt somewhere beyond the Tigris and whose temples he sought to rob of their treasure of silver and gold in order to fill the void caused by the terrible indemnity to Rome.

The eldest son of the dead king, Seleucus IV., reigned peaceably and on the whole wisely for eleven years (187-176), and at the end of that time was murdered by his chief minister Heliodorus. His son Demetrius, who was but a boy, was absent as a hostage in Rome, the Senate having for some reason—probably because they deemed that a son would be dearer than a brother—insisted that he should take the place vacated by his uncle Antiochus. That uncle travelling eastward had taken up his abode at Athens and was figuring not only as a citizen but an official of the Athenian Republic. On the news of his brother's death he at once quitted Athens, traversed Asia Minor, and by the friendly aid of the King of Pergamus, succeeded in winning the kingdom of his ancestors, assuming the title of Antiochus IV. Of the murderous prime minister Heliodorus we hear no more. No doubt he was defeated and slain.

Thus then we have Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, seated on the Syrian throne. What is the meaning of that title which has been generally translated "the illustrious"? It seems, however, that it means something more than that. The full surname is Theos Epiphanes, "The Manifested God," and thus, extraordinary as is the contrast, it contains the same thought which the Christian Church wishes to express when it speaks of the Epiphany of Christ! The process of thought by which the Greeks and Romans brought themselves to see something actually Divine in the rulers before whom they cringed, is unintelligible to us moderns, though indeed the language of the Egyptian Moslem, who has just written an anonymous letter to Lord Cromer, might help us to understand it. "Though the Khalif (that is the Sultan) were hapless as Bayexid, cruel as Murad, or mad as Ibrahim, he is the Shadow of God!" The absolute deification of power, utterly regardless of holiness, or even of wisdom, is one of the strange vagaries of the human

intellect; but never perhaps has it been more strikingly exemplified than when men saw in Antiochus IV. the Manifest God, or see now in Sultan Abdul the Shadow of God.

As this man was the cruel persecutor of the Hebrew race we could not reasonably expect to find in the books of Maccabees an absolutely unbiassed estimate of his character. We are fortunate, therefore, in possessing another portrait of him drawn by a superb judge of character, a contemporary and an intimate friend of his nephew, none other than the historian Polybius.

"Sometimes stealing forth from the palace without the knowledge of his servants, he would wander at will with one or two companions through the city (of Antioch). Most often, however, he would be found in the quarter of the goldsmiths and silversmiths, chattering away and showing off his artistic knowledge to the workers in relief and other craftsmen. At such times he would enter into conversation with any one whom he met and would have a drink with the meanest of the foreigners who happened to be passing along the city. If he saw signs of a carousal of young fellows he would present himself among them unbidden with cornet and bagpipe,¹ and having entered in he often behaved so oddly that many of the guests would get up and walk away.

"Often too, laying aside his royal robes he would put on a toga² and go round the forum canvassing for votes. One man he would take by the right hand, another he would clasp in his embrace and beg them to give him their votes, perhaps for the office of market steward,³ perhaps for that of alderman.⁴ Then when he had obtained the desired office, he would sit in an ivory curule chair after the manner of the Romans, would listen to the reading of contracts about market business and would deliver his judgments with the utmost gravity and earnestness.

"By all these vagaries he drove reasonable men to despair,

¹ μετὰ κεράτιον καὶ συμφωνίας: two of the Greek words for musical instruments used in Daniel iii. 5. It is a curious coincidence, but probably nothing more, that κεράτιον, "a little horn," is the term used to denote Antiochus himself in Daniel viii. 9.

² βερρα.

³ ἀγορανόμος.

⁴ δῆμαρχος.

for while some thought him a good-natured simpleton, others took him for a raging lunatic. His conduct in respect of presents was all of a piece with that which has been already described: he would present some people with knuckle bones from the body of a stag, others with date stones and others with gold: and sometimes he would give costly presents quite unexpectedly to chance comers whom he had never seen before.

"In civic sacrifices, however, and in all that pertained to the honour of the gods he surpassed all his predecessors, as may be inferred from his work at the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens and from the statues with which he encircled the altar at Delos.

"He used to bathe in the public baths when they were crowded with townsfolk, and would have jars full of the most costly ointments brought to him there. Once upon a time a man called out, 'Happy are you, oh kings, who can use such things as that and smell so sweet!' He said nothing at the time, but next day, when the man was bathing, he ordered an enormous jar of that very costly ointment called *Stacté* to be emptied over his head. All the bathers who stood by rushed in and rolled themselves in the overflowing liquid, and as many fell down on the slippery pavement, the king himself being one of them, there arose a mighty laughter."

The sum of the whole matter is that Polybius decides that Antiochus IV. should have been called Epimanes, the madman, rather than Epiphanes. And yet he found it hard to abide even in that judgment of this most perplexing character, for in another place¹ he says, "Antiochus the king was an efficient man and one who formed large designs and worthy of the royal name, but for one incident in his life (in connection with Egyptian affairs)".

However, the portrait is now before us, painted with extraordinary vividness, if it is not easy to read the soul that lay behind those everchanging features. Though from other indications we know that he was a man of impure character, he was

¹xxviii. 18.

pretty certainly no mere bloated sensualist. His coins—at this period genuine portraits of the monarch—show us a face of Greek beauty and with signs of intellectual power and refinement. We have also to remember the fact that he had spent his boyhood in Rome in the period which followed the great deliverance from the Second Punic War, and had doubtless made the acquaintance of senators and consuls not yet wholly demoralised though rapidly degenerating from the ancient republican virtue and simplicity of life. He had also spent some months or years in Athens, had seen the working of the republican institutions which that famous city still enjoyed, and had sometimes reflected how much more delightful it would be to earn power through the excitement of a contested election, than to wear the same purple robe and the same diadem all one's life as a mere inheritance from an ancestor. But after all, the chief factor in his history must ever have been the influence of his native city Antioch. This city, which we know so well from the descriptions of Julian of Libanius and of Chrysostom, kept for centuries its character unchanged: it was emphatically the city, not of commerce nor of learning, but of sensual delight; a city of keen satire, of frivolous amusement, of little reverence for majesty human or Divine.

All these influences and probably some touch of madness in his brain made of Antiochus one of the most inconsequent beings that ever existed. That word, though still scarcely naturalised here, must be permitted us in order to describe the character of a man whose actions never seemed to follow one another as friend or foe expected. Wordsworth's wish—

I would have my days to be
Bound each to each in natural piety—

was the very antithesis of the life of Epiphanes. But let us remember that through all his strange vagaries he was emphatically a Greek; Greek in his craving for novelty, Greek in that lack of personal dignity which contrasted so strangely with the gravity that made the Roman Senate an "Assembly of kings," Greek in the love of art which sent him down to the quarters of

the goldsmiths to chatter with the artists in *repoussé* work, and Greek more than all in a strange underlying love for and belief in the gods of Olympus. It was this which caused him to continue, doubtless at great expense, the building of the temple which had been begun by Pisistratus and was to be finished by Hadrian, the glorious Olympieion at Athens.

We have in all these coefficients of character some explanation of the causes which have made of a man not naturally cruel or bloodthirsty, the very type of a persecuting tyrant. The inconstant, paradoxical, pleasure-loving Greek was to dash himself against the solemn fervour of the Jew: the man who cared only for the Beautiful was to try to break the wills of men devoted to the Holy: the patronising worshipper of Jupiter Olympius, and all his bright train of immoral deities, was to strive to erase from the minds of a whole nation the deeply engraved but unutterable name of Jehovah Sabaoth.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

(To be concluded.)

POINTS OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE THEOLOGY AND SCIENCE OF THE PRESENT DAY.

REV. F. R. TENNANT, D.D., B.Sc.

(Continued from page 125.)

III.

V. The wider "Evolution" and Theology.

In the discussion of the points of contact between theology and natural science with which we have hitherto been dealing, evolution has been assumed to be an established fact so far as the production of organic species is concerned, and a probable hypothesis in relation to the mental and moral status of mankind. The word, however, has a wider signification in science. The physical state of the inorganic world, its present configuration and the distribution of its matter and energy, are also nowadays regarded as the outcome of a process of evolution. In this sense, the word evolution is practically synonymous with "becoming"; and theology, of course, has no quarrel with the extension of the term, in a somewhat different sense from that in which it is applicable to the organic world, to the realm of the inorganic. Lest, however, this admission should seem to give ground for the mechanical theory of the universe and the materialistic and anti-theistic presuppositions of naturalism, it may be well to point out the limits which science itself assigns to the applicability of the conception of evolution.

It must not be concluded, because the physicist and geologist describe the past history of the earth, and even of the visible universe, and the geologist and biologist describe the past history of the living forms which have peopled the earth, in terms of

evolution, that there is, therefore, a proven continuity between the realms of the organic and the inorganic, as if the one had given birth to the other in accordance with known natural laws.

The chemist, who has artificially synthesised in his laboratory many of the compounds which seem to build up the structure of protoplasm, the physical basis of life, has not succeeded in building up living protoplasm itself. Regarded simply as a matter of chemical manipulation, this feat might still be hoped for from the science of the future. Similarly, though science knows of no case of spontaneous origin of life from non-living antecedents, the man of science may without absurdity indulge in the supposition that possibly, in the remote past, when the physical condition of the world was very different from what it is now, the evolution of living matter out of inorganic materials may have taken place. Essential as the bridging of this gap between the living and the non-living is to a thorough-going evolutionist philosophy, such as that after which Mr. Herbert Spencer and Prof. Haeckel have striven, it has hitherto been effected only in imagination. We have further been informed by several of the foremost scientific investigators and thinkers that in their opinion this hope of the artificial production of life, and the attempt to explain the phenomena of life in terms of the chemical and physical alone, are not only groundless but even inevitably doomed to disappointment ; because they imply a striving after the impossible. The processes which go on in living things are directly contrary to those known in the purely physical realm ; and Lord Kelvin goes so far as to say : " The only contribution of dynamics to theoretical biology is absolute negation of automatic commencement or automatic maintenance of life ". It is never advisable—especially in natural science—to foreclose empirical inquiries by asserting the impossibility of their goal, whether on the strength of an induction from hitherto ascertained facts or of an *a priori* assertion, unless such an assertion be plainly equivalent to the law of contradiction itself. This nature can hardly be claimed for the grounds on which Lord Kelvin and other physicists relegate the problem before us to the realm of the impossible, though the pronounce-

ments of such extremely high authorities, as the weightiest possible judgments in the present state of scientific knowledge, demand our respect. We may sum up, then, with regard to this point, by saying that science is far from having proved the evolution of living things from non-living, and that perhaps the prevailing scientific opinion at present is that such proof is hardly to be expected.

A similar limit to the application of evolution as an all-embracing explanation of the universe occurs in the gap between matter and mind. Indeed, here we may say with much more confidence that evolution will never help us. The question which was first, the hen or the egg, may admit of discussion ; but that a given hen proceeded from her own egg is one to which we are unwilling to admit there are two sides. It is precisely the same with the question, has mind been developed out of matter ? It is all but unanimously agreed, among philosophers at least, that mind stands to matter somewhat in the relation of a hen to her own egg.

What then is the value to theology, if there be any value, of these gaps in evolution : in these examples of the inability of science to describe the universe in terms of one law or one conception ? Not that which has sometimes been supposed—that they enable us to appeal to the supernatural where the natural breaks down, and so establish the existence of God and of divine activity in antithesis to the existence of Nature and the operation of physical causes. Apart from various disadvantages and dangers to this kind of apologetic, such as have frequently been pointed out, there lurks the implied suggestion that where science has succeeded in explaining, thence God is banished ; that where physical causation can be traced, there divine activity is absent. Such reasoning might be compatible with deism ; it is not compatible with Christian theology. There is no need to resort to it in order to show the compatibility of belief in God with the teachings of science, of a divine presence in a world whose processes seem to be in accordance with uniform laws. Theology has no need to be jealous of the triumphs of natural science, as if each

successive discovery were the conquest of a portion of her territory. Rather than stake our belief in God upon the existence of gaps in scientific knowledge, we would claim that all that science reveals to us is in a sense theological knowledge also : a revelation of God in Nature. If science traces for us the laws according to which phenomena are connected, the theist may rejoice that he has learned something of the order and method by which God works.

For if God thunder by law, the thunder is yet His Voice.

It is not the reduction of all phenomena, even the most mysterious, to cases of known law ; not the discovery of causal connexion between things : not, in any sense, the extension of scientific knowledge, which the theologian watches with anxiety. It is simply the tendency, which is unfortunately conspicuous in some men of science, to stretch formulæ which are perfectly legitimate in summing up our knowledge in certain departments of study, in order to include quite other kinds of phenomena, to which they are not applicable ; and in so doing, to make plausible a philosophy of the universe which levels down everything that is spiritual in man to the mechanical, the automatic, the material. I have already, on a previous page, hinted at theories of this kind, which, surpassing the bounds of empirical science, and yet still pretending to speak with her authority, threaten the intellectual foundations of the highest of human hopes, beliefs and aspirations ; and I have shown that to do battle with such theories would require us to leave altogether the field of physical science and plunge into discussions which involve metaphysics and the critical science of the nature and validity of knowledge. I may now pass on to consider certain objections, having a similar tendency, which are sometimes urged as expressing the voice of science with regard to one of the most vital of our theological doctrines and the most precious of our human hopes—the immortality of the soul, or, as I would rather put it, the immortality of the self.

VI. Human Immortality.

The very form in which the problem of human immortality is usually propounded—Has man an immortal soul?—tacitly involves the assumption that the man is primarily his body. There are, of course, reasons why this assumption should be ingrained in common thought and language. Matter seems so much more intimately known than mind or spirit; the mind or spirit seems so much more dependent on the body and what happens to the body than *vice versâ*. Consequently, when science seeks for a monistic theory of the universe as a more ultimate and satisfying explanation than a dualistic one which assumes two independent substances, matter and mind, it is apt to be prejudiced in favour of matter being the more real and, scientifically speaking, the more important and knowable of the two. It is furthermore presupposed in common thought—and the presupposition, as we have already had occasion to notice, is taken over by physical science and strongly entrenched there—that matter can exist independently of spirit. We have, however, also already observed that this presupposition is not an assertion of science; it is not, and indeed cannot be, a matter of observation or experience. It is a metaphysical statement, and since the time of Bishop Berkeley has not enjoyed much acceptance amongst philosophers. We only know matter through our sensations; but the cause of our sensations—such of them as we do not cause ourselves—may perfectly well be different from matter, and may be of the nature of spirit. This is of course the idealist's position, and it is not likely to be refuted. We neither do violence to the experience of every-day life nor invalidate the results of science when we throw doubt on the independent existence of matter. We only sacrifice a metaphysical theory which, as the history of philosophy shows, has failed to secure anything like general acceptance.

At the same time we abandon the possibility of the self being only an activity of the body. Instead of explaining the conscious self in terms of matter, we see the necessity of explaining matter

in terms of mind. If what we call matter is ultimately composed of our sensations and thoughts, it is absurd to speak of our sensations and thoughts as if they were nothing but an activity of our brains. Science shows the close connexion between brain and thought, or, if we like, between body and soul ; but when physiologists would have us think that the soul or our thought is a property or activity or product of our brain, they are not offering us science but "the cast-off clothes of metaphysic".

The objection that the conscious self is an activity of the body may, then, be dismissed. But the question then arises whether the conscious self is not of such a nature that it cannot be conceived as capable of existing without the body. Has science any evidence that this is the case? We do indeed only possess assured knowledge of selves which have bodies. It is also certain that sensation—without which a human self is inconceivable—is, so far as we know, only possible through the medium of a body and when accompanied by bodily changes or processes. But it is not certain, after all science has to say of the relations between body and mind, that the kind of body which we now possess, and no other, is essential to the self. This is a possibility which science cannot either assert or deny. The self may, at death, enter into connexion with another kind of body. And further, the facts which science has amassed with regard to the dependence of mental processes on brain processes really only refer to the life of the self under its present conditions ; they serve to convince us, perhaps, that while the self has a body, that body is essential to the mental life of the self. It is possible that connexion with a body may impose actual limitations on the mental activity of the self, and that, among such limitations, that of now being able to experience sensation, or to perform thought, solely in connexion with a body, is one.¹ Thus, the denial of immortality on the ground that the life of the self is dependent on that of the present body, is only possible when we advance

¹ For this suggestion see Kant, *Kritik der rein. Vernunft*, 2nd ed., p. 809, and the chapter on human immortality in Dr. McTaggart's work, *Some Dogmas of Religion*, which is followed here.

far beyond what science actually knows as to the relations of body and mind, and indulge in dogmatic assertions which it is beyond the power of science to affirm or deny.

Finally, science lends no support to the idea that the self is necessarily transient. So far as the material world is concerned, she has shown us that "all things flow". Planetary systems may appear and disappear, rocks and mountain-chains are crumbled down and carried to the bottom of the sea, human bodies are resolved into gases and mineral ash. But though change and decay thus takes place in all material things around us, we are taught equally emphatically by science that the elements of which these things are composed are not annihilated. The conservation of matter is one of the greatest of scientific generalisations. Whatever dissolves them, only does so by separation of its elementary particles. If there is anything in the material world, however, that is indivisible, that is not complex and separable into parts, science is unable to say of it that it, as an entity, is perishable and transient. Before, then, we are justified in concluding by analogy that the human self must share in the decay and transiency of material objects, we must have it demonstrated that the self is an aggregation of parts or elements; that its thoughts and emotions, volitions and sensations, could exist apart from it, and continue so to exist when the self, as such, were no more. Indeed, the difference between a self and a material thing is so great that we might rule out all analogies as worthless; but there is none, I believe, that science can furnish with any relevancy. We may then safely conclude that, common as is the supposition to the contrary, there are no facts of science which serve to cast a shadow of doubt on our belief in human immortality.

VII. The Doctrine of a Plurality of Worlds.

The various points of contact between theology and science which have now been reviewed have mainly been concerned with our knowledge with regard to man: the mode of creation of both his bodily and his spiritual nature, the development of

his conscience and moral codes, the origin and mode of propagation of his sinfulness, and the hope of his immortality. I will accordingly select as the last point for consideration one which will carry on this connectedness of subject and so introduce as much unity as possible into what, from the nature of its title, has necessarily been a somewhat disjointed essay.

The Christian scheme of redemption seems to make man not only the crown of creation but even the one creature for whose sake the whole universe exists. In this respect the gospel doubtless harmonises with the conjecture of the ancient world to whom only a very limited knowledge of a very limited portion of the universe was accessible. But since science has revealed to us the relative insignificance of our little world, the old question "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him?" has served sometimes to express a real difficulty of the modern sceptic. To some persons the whole scheme of Christian belief seems too obviously the creation by man of what man wished to be true for himself; too plainly made to satisfy man's limited outlook upon the universe; or, in a word, too anthropomorphic. And, in particular, this scepticism takes the form of the query: "What about the other beings inhabiting other worlds in the universe: how do you suppose they would look upon our self-centred solution of the mysteries of the infinite and eternal; for of course it is absurd to suppose that, out of the countless worlds which the astronomer knows, none is peopled with living and thinking souls?" What has science to say with regard to a plurality of inhabited worlds? When the Copernican system replaced the Ptolemaic, belief in other worlds than ours became general. This opinion received the support of great names such as Kepler, Newton, Huyghens. And as scientific opinion swung completely round from what it had been before, so also did religious sentiment. In the days of the Fathers and Schoolmen natural science was elaborated in accordance with the notion that the whole universe existed for man alone, and that he was the only subject of redemption. After the birth of modern science, however, it was often felt to be derogatory to the Creator's power or wisdom

to suppose that He had peopled but one of a countless number of spheres, or that He could take any special interest in a creature so insignificant as man, situated upon so puny a world as this earth.

Now if the long conflict between science and theology has taught us anything, it is that *a priori* ideas as to what is fitting or not to expect from the Deity, or to attribute to Him, are never to be trusted. When begotten of the deepest reverence and humility they have often proved not to point to the eternal truth, but to need revision and amendment. The popular theory as to the literal inspiration and infallibility of the Scriptures was the outcome of ideas of this kind—of pious sentiment rather than diligent search for truth—and after being practically the sole cause of centuries of bitterness and intellectual warfare between theologians and men of science, it has now been abandoned. The matter of physical fact, then, involved in this problem, is one which must be determined, if it can be determined, by scientific research alone. We shall ask presently whether theology need be anxious as to the result of such research. As for the state of scientific opinion at the present on this matter, it would seem to be that of suspended judgment. Dr. Alfred Wallace's interesting book which appeared about three years ago endeavoured to re-establish on scientific grounds alone a thoroughly anthropocentric conception of the universe. There is so much in the various stages of his long and complex argument which is matter for experts in astronomy alone to decide upon, that the layman in such studies needs must feel reluctant to build arguments on the conclusions at which Dr. Wallace arrived. If it should be true, as this writer maintained, that the whole universe is absolutely necessary to the stable existence of the one inhabited world we know, and that the many conditions necessary to the continuous existence of organic beings can, so far as we know, only be provided upon one small planet by means of the relations which obtain between it and the rest of the stellar bodies, it is not an over-venturesome leap of speculation to conclude that the universe was created for the express

purpose of providing a home for man, the end and goal of the whole creative and evolutionary process. This is the main position which Dr. Wallace's work aims at proving; and if he has in any way failed, as possibly he has, to put the question beyond dispute, he has certainly shown that there is very much to be said by physical science in favour of such a view, and has proved that it is by no means necessary, in the light of modern knowledge, to class the belief in one only inhabited world, and that the kernel of the universe, any longer among the merely fanciful conjectures of the ancient world.

It is very doubtful, then, whether there is really any substance in the difficulty which the possibility of a plurality of worlds has suggested in some quarters. But granting that there is, and supposing man not to be the only rational and moral being in the universe, would science in this case be in antagonism to Christian theology? It would seem to me that the only adjustment we should require to make in our conception of man's relation to God's universe and His purpose as a whole, would be the confession that our knowledge of the counsels of God was more fragmentary than we had thought: that the anthropocentric view of the universe, which would seem to be implied in the revealed scheme of Christian redemption, is none the less true as far as it goes, but it does not cover the whole extent of the truth that might have been revealed. If the human race were not the only one which had been brought into existence and, having universally sinned, had needed redemption, it would seem, probably, to most minds neither irrational nor difficult to conclude that the same great redemptive drama that had been acted upon our earth by the incarnate Son of God had also been performed in whatever other worlds had needed it. And further, it would seem that such religious difficulties as have suggested themselves in this connexion turn largely upon the meaning which individuals attribute to Redemption. If the Son of God came into this world "to save sinners," it has not been universally believed by Christians that this exhausted the whole purpose and meaning of the Incarnation. If we take, as it is quite open

to us to do, the Scotist view of the Incarnation, which finds it in an absolute and eternal purpose of God rather than the expression of a divine after-thought necessitated by mankind's universal declension into sin, and connects it as much or more with Revelation than with Atonement; and if we interpret Redemption in the light of such a view, then the difficulties which attach to the admission of more worlds than ours would seem to fall to the ground. Christianity, in short, would seem to be equally compatible with either view; and the ultimate findings of science with regard to this question, as with regard to those which we have previously discussed, would be immaterial to theology and religion.

F. R. TENNANT.

AMOS: THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE.

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In the eighth century before Christ there arose a new type of prophet. Amos, in fact, was no prophet at all in the commonly accepted sense of the term. When charged by Amaziah with being "a hireling prophet" he disclaimed the title as applied to himself. He was a prophet, he said, neither by birth nor by profession. He was not one of those religious enthusiasts who found their inspiration in ecstatic utterance or acts of frenzied violence; nor was he one of those who prophesied for hire or reward. He had had no special theological training. He belonged to no school or guild such as those which had been founded by Samuel and Elijah. The Lord took him from behind the flock. By birth and by trade he was little more than a peasant. He claimed no rank or position for himself, and no one knew his father's name. He was a simple herdsman and a cultivator of sycamore trees, and his home was in the wilderness of Tekoa, a hilly place in the Southern kingdom about six miles south of Bethlehem and twelve miles from Jerusalem. The sheep and goats which he tended were probably of a small and ugly kind, valued for their wool. The fruit which he cultivated was the sycamore-fig—a fruit artificially ripened by pinching and bruising, unpalatable, barely edible, and eaten only by the poorest of the poor. To tend his own or another man's flocks on the wild and bare uplands of Tekoa, and to dress trees whose fruit was almost worthless, these were the humble tasks which first occupied the time of the earliest writing prophet of whom anything is known. He was "one of that class to which Abraham, Moses and David had belonged; but not rich in fields

and herds, in men-servants and maid-servants like the first, nor learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians like the second; nor with any the most distant intimation that he might one day be the shepherd of a people, like the third. He was a labouring man, familiar as all his words indicate with the forms and appearances of nature, with the common operations of husbandry, with the special tasks of the keeper of flocks, with the wrongs and sufferings of the poor.”¹ And he was doing his ordinary everyday work when the call to prophesy came upon him with a force so irresistible that it left him no alternative but to obey.

But, layman though he was, there is no need to suppose that Amos was without training or education. Formal training, of course, he did not possess, but he had been brought up in the hard school of nature. He was prepared for his work in the desert of Judæa, whence another new prophet, the herald of the Messiah, was afterwards to spring; where, too, our Lord retired after His baptism in the river Jordan. In that lone and silent country, away from the city's busy hum, where every sound, every shadow, every stir of life might mean danger to himself or to his flock, the shepherd-prophet's natural faculties were quickened. His desert life taught him to use his eyes and ears and reflect upon the sights he saw and the sounds he heard. To a man of a deeply religious turn of mind it gave leisure for meditating on the things of God and that detachment which is necessary for estimating the true significance of what was happening in the greater world around him. When, therefore, we remember this, and remember also that the pious Jew of the Old Testament with his highly emotional and intuitive nature had a more vivid consciousness of the presence of God than we have to-day, we feel that Amos may after all “have been in a school of the prophets, though he did not know it himself, and thought he was intended chiefly to be a gatherer of sycamore fruit”. For the Old Testament saint knew nothing of secondary causes and had the dimmest possible apprehension of a future

¹ Maurice, *Prophets and Kings of O. T.*, Sermon x.

life. Heaven to him meant communion with God on earth. To him earth was indeed

Crammed with heaven,
And every common bush afire with God.

He saw the hand of God in everything and felt that every sound in nature was the utterance of His voice and announced something of His will.

Amos, then, was not without training; he was prepared for his great mission both by occupation and environment. Nor, humble shepherd though he was, had he any lack of culture and refinement. St. Jerome in one of his hasty generalisations calls him "rude in speech, though not in knowledge". Had he known his Hebrew Bible better, he would not have been so quick to detect "rusticity" in the writings of our prophet. For Amos has left us "one of the best examples of pure Hebrew style. The language, imagery and grouping are alike admirable." Five words spelt in an unusual manner are the only possible traces of provincialism, and these are probably due rather to the work of the copyists. He writes with the ease and simplicity of diction which only a master of language can command. And this is not surprising even in a peasant, for he lived in days when books were few and culture was a gift rather than a matter of wealth or social position.¹

No less remarkable than his style is the wide range of Amos' knowledge—the result, no doubt, of observation and experience. Not only does he display an intimate acquaintance with the social and religious condition of Israel and its capital, but he seems to have first-hand information about all the surrounding countries. First one nation and then another is arraigned before the bar of justice and his indictment of each is detailed and precise. And he knows their history too; how the Philistines came from Caph-tor and the Aramæans from Kir. His outlook ranges from Damascus in the North to the Southern land of Cush, from the rising and falling Nile in the West to the far-distant Calneh in

¹ Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, Lect. iv.

Babylonia. All this goes to show that he did not leave his desert eyes and ears behind him when he made his periodical journeys to the fairs and markets of Palestine. On the road and in the cities he would meet with men of every land and hear of what went on in their respective countries. He would hear too of the westward movement of the dread Assyrian power, whose purpose only a prophet could as yet divine. At Samaria and Bethel he saw for himself things which outraged his moral sense, stirred his spirit within him, and moved him to go and prophesy against God's people, Israel.¹

What did Amos see in his journeyings up and down the Northern kingdom? He saw a nation at the zenith of its power and splendour. Jeroboam II., the son of Jehoash, the last king of Jehu's dynasty, had recovered the territory which his predecessors lost, and his dominions now stretched from Hamath in the North down to the torrent of the Arabah. Freedom from invasion and victories in war had brought to the Israelites wealth unheard of since the days of Solomon, and the nation seemed to have entered upon a long career of peace and plenty. "By that irony of history which is so often observable in the fortunes of nations the Northern kingdom never seemed to be so strong as in the days when it was within sixty years of its fall and ruin."

But the prophet is nothing if not observant. "He carried with him his clear desert atmosphere and his desert eyes," and saw beneath Israel's wealth and splendour, her cheery optimism and self-confidence, a canker which was eating out the nation's heart. For the sudden access of prosperity was more than she could bear. It was fraught with social evils of the gravest kind. "Amos saw around him the worst signs of a national decadence. He saw the insolence of the rich and the oppression of the poor. He saw extortion, greed, bribery, perverted justice, iniquitous bargains, tampering with the price of corn, hard usury, ruthless severity to debtors, false balances, false weights. He saw callous luxury, shameless debauchery, drunken revelries."²

¹ G. A. Smith, *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, vol. i., chap. vi.

² Farrar, *Minor Prophets*, p. 45.

And all this was carried on under the cloak of religion. Never had religion been so fashionable, or its ordinances so punctiliously observed. New moon, sabbath and festival found the sanctuaries thronged with eager worshippers, who vied with each other in the abundance of their sacrifices. But the pure worship of Jahveh was overlaid with Canaanitish ritual and shameful pagan practices. Their religion was worse than formalism ; it was regarded as a substitute for morality, and the sacred seasons were made occasions for sensual indulgence and riotous excesses. They believed that Jahveh, as their national Deity, was well pleased with them—their continued prosperity was sufficient proof of that—and bound in honour to protect them so long as He was served by ceremony and offering. For He was thought to be “very jealous as to the correctness of His ritual and the amount of His sacrifices, but indifferent about real morality”. The Lord of Hosts is with us, they said, and of us only has He taken notice of all the families of the earth.

Such were the sights which disgusted the moral sense of Amos. He felt that this state of things could not last. The guilty nation was doomed, and, as he reflected on the scenes he had witnessed in the quietude of his country home, he felt impelled to sound the note of warning. Leaving his flocks and herds, he made his way to Bethel.

His debüt was dramatic. He arrived at his destination on a great feast day, and proceeded to harangue the crowd of worshippers gathered round the national sanctuary. Nothing short of the strongest compelling force, he said, could have induced him, a mere peasant and an unknown foreigner, to testify against the cities of Israel. He had come because he had a Divine message to deliver. “Two men do not take the same road in the desert unless they have made an appointment. A lion does not roar in the jungle when it has no prey. A bird does not fall into a snare except one has been set. In other words, the unusual does not happen without a corresponding cause. So my presence here means that I have been sent. Again, a horn is not blown in a city without the people knowing that the horrors of

war are at hand. Every cause has its corresponding effect. When evil happens in a city, you say the Lord has sent it. So when the Lord God speaks to a prophet, as He has spoken to me, that prophet has no choice but to prophesy" (iii. 3-8).

He wins the attention of his audience with remarkable skill. Taking a rapid survey of the surrounding nations—Damascus, Philistia, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, Moab and Judah—he denounces them one and all for sins against the moral law. The cup of their iniquities is full and flowing over. For three transgressions God might perhaps have pardoned, but the fourth renders them unforgivable. Nothing but destruction awaits them now. To these words his hearers would readily subscribe. But no sooner had they given their assent than the prophet applies the same principles and the same standard of righteousness to their own case. Israel's sins, inhumanity and debauchery, are no less heinous. Nay, they are worse, for they are aggravated by gross ingratitude. They had forgotten all that Jahveh had done for them in leading them out of Egypt to the Promised Land. He had raised up prophets to set before them the ideal of a righteous life, but they had refused to listen. He had sent them Nazirites as examples of moderation and self-control, but they had tempted them to break their vows. How then could they hope to escape the coming judgment? A dire catastrophe was about to fall on the guilty nation, and the bravest of them would be put to flight (i. and ii.).

Another series of addresses (iii.-vi.) makes his charges more explicit. Israel's sins are sins against the laws of social righteousness and natural humanity, "oppression of the poor, commercial dishonesty, brutish luxury and sensuality, and an idolatrous worship of Jehovah, which ignored both His spiritual nature and His ethical requirements".¹ Warning and chastisement had been in vain. The nation is ripe for judgment; let them prepare to meet their God. To seek Him in His own appointed way, not in senseless ritual but by righteous dealing and just judg-

¹ Otley, *Hebrew Prophets*, p. 22.

ment, is their one chance of life. But they will not seek. Therefore the doom is imminent; it can no longer be averted. In spirit Amos sees it consummated, and sings the nation's death-dirge :—

The virgin of Israel is fallen, she shall no more rise ;
She is cast down upon her land, there is none to raise her up.

And then (vii.) three visions are described. Two of them—the plague of locusts and the scorching heat—are visions of threatened but averted judgment. But the meaning of the third is unmistakable. And so in plain words Amos declares that the high places of Isaac shall be desolate and the sanctuaries of Israel laid waste ; that God will rise up against the house of Jeroboam with the sword ; and that Assyria will lead the people into exile.

It is at this point that the high priest of Bethel seems to have intervened. Amaziah, as the representative of the popular religion, thought it high time to stop the prophet's mouth. He went up to Jeroboam and accused Amos of having used treasonable language which was likely to produce discontent among the king's subjects. "The land is not able to bear all his words." And then, acting either on his own authority or on that of the king, the high priest ironically bade Amos go home to Judah, where his message would be better received and rewarded. The prophet was compelled to leave the city. "But Amaziah little knew what power he had given to prophecy the day he forbade it to speak. The gagged prophet began to write ; and those accents which, humanly speaking, might have died out with the songs of the temple of Bethel were clothed upon with the immortality of literature. Amos silenced wrote a book."¹ He was the first prophet to do so ; but from this time onward the prophets realised the limitations of the human voice and committed their addresses to writing.

Amos' method—that of writing down his prophecies—was new. So also was his message. For example, he gave a new meaning and content to the word "God". "When Amos (i., ii.)

¹ G. A. Smith, p. 145.

asserts that Yahwe has dealings with the surrounding nations, judging them by a moral standard and, as it were, placing them in line with his own people, Israel and Judah, he is asserting something which comes to his hearers as a new and strange revelation."¹ When he states that the nation is "as the Ethiopians" unto God, and that just as He brought Israel out of Egypt, so did He bring the Philistines from Caphtor and the Aramæans from Kir, he is stating a new fact. For up to this time the average Israelite looked upon Jahveh as little more than a national Deity, bound at all costs for the sake of His own honour and dignity to protect the people of His choice, and yet holding jurisdiction over them alone. With Amos we have advanced from monolatry—the worship of one God, which does not preclude belief in the existence of other gods—to monotheism, belief in the existence of one God, who is the Maker of history and the Almighty Ruler of the whole universe. This God is the Lord of Hosts ; Lord not only of the armies of Israel, but of the hosts of heaven and the forces of nature.

The popular religion was labouring under a twofold delusion as to the character of God, a delusion which blinded the rulers and people to the signs of the times. "They thought of Him too exclusively as interested solely in the affairs of Israel, and they neglected entirely His ethical character."² They thought that the brilliant successes of Jeroboam and the unexampled prosperity which they enjoyed were conclusive evidence that Jehovah was pleased with His people, and, confident in the protection of their tribal Deity, eagerly awaited "the day of the Lord," when He would give some signal manifestation of His favour and rid them of their foes. For was He not pledged to protect them so long as they discharged the external offices of religion ?

As against the first error Amos asserts the truth that Jehovah is God of the whole world, and not only of Israel. To the second fallacy he opposes the principle that He is a righteous God, and therefore demands righteousness of His people. Israel, he admits,

¹ Burney, *O. T. Theol.*, p. 89.

² Driver, *Isaiah and Amos*, p. 108.

is a privileged nation. But this only increases her responsibility. "You only," says Jehovah, "of all the families of the earth have I taken special notice of, but just because your opportunities have been greater, I will visit upon you all your iniquities" (iii. 2). "I hate, I despise your sacrifices, because they are a mere mockery, when accompanied by deeds of injustice and inhumanity. Ceremonial worship, as a substitute for the elementary duties of social morality, is an abomination unto Me" (iv. 4, 5; v. 21-25). God's requirements were few and simple. "Seek good and not evil . . . and establish judgment in the gate" (v. 14, 15). The only worship which had any intrinsic value was that which resulted in justice and righteousness between man and man. "Let judgment roll down as waters, and righteousness as a perennial stream" (v. 24).

Amos has been claimed as a socialist. But he had no new social scheme to propose. He was no statesman like Isaiah, but simply a preacher of social righteousness. He appeared but once on the stage of history and then sank into obscurity. But he had left an eternal message behind him. When he appealed to the universal conscience of mankind and announced "that justice between man and man is one of the Divine foundations of society"; when he asserted that privilege implies responsibility and that "doom dogs the heels of crime"; that all men must "live up to that measure of light and knowledge which has been granted to them"; and that religious observances are no substitute for ordinary morality and common honesty, he was uttering elementary but eternal truths.¹

"To see the truth and tell it, to be accurate and brave about the moral facts of our day"—to this extent we may all follow the example of Amos. Would to God that all the Lord's people were prophets!

S. LAWRENCE BROWN.

¹ Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 106.

THE PROBLEM OF THE APOCALYPSE AND ITS BEARING ON THE CONCEPTION OF INSPIRATION.

REV. C. W. EMMET, M.A.

The Apocalypse is peculiarly a book where we may expect help from a sane and unflinching criticism. Professor Ramsay's *Letters to the Seven Churches* gave the student new material and to some extent a new point of view. We have at last Dr. Swete's *Apocalypse of St. John*, an English commentary which faces the problem in the light of modern research. It will be welcomed. To those who had made no attempt to outgrow the popular conception it will open up entirely new lines of thought. To others who had rested hesitatingly on the methods of the German commentators, such as Bousset, it will come as a relief. It goes far to show us how their principles and methods may be applied to the complete gain of the spiritual value of the book.

Let us try and look at it in the light of criticism. Two principles stand out as fundamental to its study. They are not altogether new, but their full significance has only lately been recognised ; in their modern application they revolutionise our conception both of its origin and of its interpretation.

(1) The Apocalypse does not stand alone, but is only one example of a special type of literature. This literature has its recognised language and symbolism, its common traditions and beliefs. Its germs are found in Ezekiel and Zechariah ; its first representative is the Book of Daniel ; it is further developed in such writings as the Book of Enoch, the Secrets of Enoch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and the Fourth Book of Esdras ; its influence is seen in a lesser degree in many other Jewish or semi-Christian works of the period, particularly in the Book of Jubilees, the Assumption of

Moses, the Psalms of Solomon, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Sibylline Oracles.

The name given is "Apocalyptic," its main subject being the Apocalypse or Revelation of the future. We find in it a common stock of ideas. The righteous people of God are oppressed by their enemies, and evil seems to be triumphant. But when it reaches its climax, the "Day of the Lord" will come; He will vindicate the right and terribly avenge His servants on their oppressors. The promises of the prophets will at last be realised, and the kingdom of the Messiah will be established, whether on earth or in heaven.

And besides its common beliefs, it has its common modes of representation, which seem to have become conventional. The book is issued under the name of some great one of the past. The revelation is made by vision, by angel, with translation to distant scenes. There is a recognised symbolism of mystic numbers and allegorical beasts; a constantly recurring materialistic imagery of fire, storm and earthquake.

In the case of the Apocalypse of St. John a very large proportion of its language and symbolism is taken directly from the Old Testament, particularly from Daniel (the first Apocalypse), Ezekiel and Zechariah (its precursors), Isaiah and the Psalms. The writer has a vision of the glorified Christ; each of its details is a reminiscence of Ezekiel and Daniel. He hears from an angel a "taunt song" on the fall of Babylon; in almost every word it goes back to the "taunt songs" of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. His vision of the holy city again rests on the vision of Ezekiel; his picture of its joys is directly inspired by the same prophet and by Isaiah.

These are only a few examples out of many and the resemblances have of course been recognised from the first. The point is that we cannot stop here. The study,¹ in some cases the discovery, of the non-canonical Apocalyptic literature just mentioned

¹ No student will need to be reminded of the debt we owe in this respect to Dr. R. H. Charles. It is interesting to note that in Alford's commentary on the "Revelation" there is no reference at all to this literature.

has emphasised still further the writer's dependence on earlier material. (a) In many cases his language and symbolism, when reminiscent of the Old Testament, have not been taken directly from it, but are used with the additional significance which they have received in the later Apocalypses, *e.g.*, the eating "of the tree of life which is in the paradise of God" is promised to him that overcomes (ii. 7, *cf.* xxii. 14). The history behind this conception is not merely that of the Genesis narrative. In the Book of Enoch we hear of the tree of life in the celestial paradise: "its leaves and its flower and its wood wither not for ever . . . and no flesh hath power to touch it till the great judgment, . . . then to the righteous and the holy shall their fruit be given". The idea recurs in 4 Esdras (there is in paradise fruit wherein is abundance and healing) and in other books; in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs we even find "He shall give His saints to eat of the tree of life". Again, since the time of Ezekiel, Gog and Magog (Rev. xx. 8) here received a new connotation. Magog is no longer the *land* with which Gog is connected, but both appear continually as the typical enemies of the Messiah. *Cf.* Jerus. Targum: "In fine extremitatis dierum Gog et Magog et exercitus eorum adscendent Hierosolyma, et per manus regis Messiae ipsi cadent". In 4 Esdras xiii. we read of the war in the last days of a countless multitude against Messiah who shall destroy them by fire from His mouth. Similarly the conception of the "New Jerusalem" does not rest merely on Isaiah and Ezekiel. It had become a commonplace of Jewish Apocalyptic hope, *e.g.*, Enoch xc. 28 speaks of a New House greater and loftier than the first, "and the Lord of the sheep was in it"; 4 Esdras vii. 26, "The bride shall appear, even the city coming forth". Other ideas which may be paralleled from the Old Testament, but have received greater significance, are the opening of the books, the book of life, beliefs about Satan, the serpent, or Abaddon.

(b) Expressions to which no real parallel is found in the Old Testament are seen to rest upon conceptions familiar to Apocalyptic thought and contemporary writings. We note that the seer by using the definite article often assumes that his readers

will recognise the allusion, *e.g.* in ii. 17 the conqueror is promised his share of "*the* hidden manna"; in xi. 19 the ark of the covenant is seen in the opened sanctuary of heaven. The reference is to the legend of the hiding of the ark by Jeremiah. *Cf.* 2 Maccabees ii. 7, "The place [of its hiding] shall be unknown until God gather the people again together and mercy come; and then shall the Lord disclose these things and the glory of the Lord shall be seen and the cloud". The Apocalypse of Baruch has further, "At the selfsame time [of the revelation of Messiah] the treasury of manna will again descend from on high, and they will eat of it in those years".¹

Again, the "Secrets of Enoch" speaks of a great sea between the first and second heavens (*cf.* Rev. iv. 6); of horses walking to the breast in the blood of sinners (Rev. xiv. 20). It is impossible here to multiply quotations; it is enough to instance amongst many similar parallels the conception of the imprisonment of Satan in the abyss, sealed and guarded by an angel who holds the key; the angelology—an angel of the waters, spirits of the winds, the celestial worshippers who sleep not in their praise; the lake of fire which awaits the devil and his servants, and the "second death".

(c) We have to reckon with the probability, amounting in some cases almost to a certainty, that other features to which no full parallel has yet been found were not original or invented for the first time by the writer. In particular we are prepared to

¹ Again the conception of the millennium, as a temporary triumph of righteousness before the final consummation, appears in various forms. In Enoch xc. the eighth and ninth of those "weeks" into which human history is divided are the reign of righteousness, followed by the judgment and "weeks without number for ever". In 4 Esdras the reign of Messiah on earth is for 400 years. In the "Secrets of Enoch" the final world-week is 1,000 years. The "seven spirits before the throne" (i. 4), the seven angels of the presence of viii. 2 are paralleled by the "seven first white ones" of Enoch, by the seven angels of the presence of Tobit xii. 15, and the Rabbinical angelology. Thoughts similar to the conception of the souls of the righteous beneath the altar crying for vengeance meet us frequently in Enoch. The waiting till the number of the elect be completed is a Jewish conception. *Cf.* Baruch, "The storehouses (promptuaria) shall be opened in which was guarded the number of righteous souls"; 4 Esdras iv. 35, "Did not the souls of the righteous ask question of these things in their chambers, saying, 'How long shall I hope on this fashion? When cometh the fruit of the threshing time of our reward?' And unto them Jeremiah the archangel gave answer and said, 'Even when the number is fulfilled of them that are like unto you'".

find the influence of the folklore of the time.¹ In chap. xii. (the dragon and the woman with child) Gunkel sees the influence of the widespread Babylonian myth of creation—"the victory of Marduk, the god of light, over the chaos-beast Tiāmat, the dragon of the deep". Bousset adds further striking parallels from the story of the birth of Apollo, and the Egyptian myth of Isis and Horus. On this view we explain the obscurities of the picture. They are due to an attempt to adapt the original myth to the story of the birth of Christ. Again there are the persistent traditions connected with the belief in Antichrist (see Bousset, "The Antichrist Legend"). Traces may be seen in chap. xi. ("The Two Witnesses") and in chap. xiii. (the second beast afterwards identified with the false prophet, deceiving men by his lying wonders, and appearing as a parody of the Lamb, the true Messiah).

How far such episodes are taken from a special written "source" must remain an open question. We explain a good deal by some such supposition, the isolation and peculiar character of some of the pictures, the contradictions between different parts of the book, the existence of "doublets" and repetitions. On the other hand we must account for the general sense of unity which pervades the whole and the homogeneity of its very peculiar style. Without adopting any "scissors and paste" theory we may probably assume that the writer at times incorporates some earlier legend, taking it much as he finds it, without caring to harmonise all its details with the rest of his picture. Dr. Swete admits that the book may "incorporate earlier materials" (Intr., p. c.), and in one place (ch. xv. 4) he suggests the probability of a Jewish source.

On the general question of the relationship to Apocalyptic literature, our conclusion may be less unhesitating. Again the

¹ The identification of stars and angels found in chap. i. (the seven stars are the seven angels of the Churches) may point to the influence of the Babylonian idea of seven star-spirits. The personified star of ix. 1 which falls from heaven is a mythological conception found in Enoch. The belief in the power of hidden names and the sealing of the elect can hardly be separated from the popular folklore connected with talismanic formulæ, however purified be the form it assumes.

question of any direct use of the actual books is secondary. Dr. Swete doubts it, and in some cases it is precluded by the fact that the parallels quoted are from books contemporary with or subsequent to St. John. That does not touch the main point. The nature of the resemblances does not as a rule suggest "borrowing" on either side; they prove the existence of a popular tradition, of a current mode of thought to which all Apocalyptic writers can appeal. It is perfectly clear that "he shared with the Jewish Apocalyptists the stock of Apocalyptic imagery and mystical and eschatological thought which was the common property of the age". The ideas were in the air, they recur continually in the literature of the type; the writer can assume that they will be intelligible to his readers. The book is an Apocalypse among Apocalypses, using their conventional language and symbolism.

(2) Our second principle of criticism can only be briefly summarised and illustrated. It is that the book was written with direct reference to a peculiar historical situation. It makes no secret of its origin and, unlike other Apocalypses, does not seem to be pseudonymous. The writer had a practical purpose and that purpose was to strengthen the Churches of his day in view of a crisis which he saw to be imminent. Dr. Swete follows the trend of recent opinion in dating the book in the time of Domitian. If we accept the earlier date of the reign of Nero it will not affect our principle. Whatever there is of direct prediction or of definite historical reference has to do with the situation at the time and the view the seer has been led to take of the probable future of the Roman Empire as he knows it. We may expect to find historical personages and events, more or less disguised or idealised, but always of the writer's own day. And so it is; we see the Roman Empire with its Cæsar worship and names of blasphemy, supported by an interested priestcraft, resting on force and pretended miracles. We hear the rumours of Parthian invasion, and of the dreaded return of Nero (perhaps to the seer's mind reincarnate in Domitian). On the other hand we see the struggles and the temptations of the local Churches of

Asia, the dangers from within, from the tendency to compromise with the heathen life around them, the persecution already beginning from without, with its boycotting and its death to those who will not worship the beast and his image. The terror will run its course, and in the end Rome will fall attacked by the petty kings of the East or by other of its subject nations.

And after that? Mingled with this view of contemporary history and in the background is an eschatology or doctrine of the last things. It is inspiring and full of teaching, but vague and inconsistent with itself directly you attempt to press the details. How are the various catastrophes and falls of Satan to be related to one another? Are they synchronous—different pictures of the same event—or successive steps in the victory? What is the place of the millennium? What of the New Jerusalem and the visions of the closing chapters? No one can say how far we have a realistic picture of what the seer expects will be in heaven or an idealised picture of what he hopes for on earth. The fact is that in all these things the book does not minister to an idle curiosity to pierce the veil of the future or to read the secrets of the unseen world. We can neither sketch the course of history from it nor discover how earth will pass into heaven. It gives us what we need, the assured promise of the victory of Christ and truth, of the eternal blessedness of the faithful with God.

How then are we to regard the book? It becomes impossible to see in it a direct and immediate revelation from heaven or a detailed prophecy of the future. It is a literary product; in a sense it may be called artificial. As we have seen, the writer is steeped in the Old Testament and in the Apocalyptic traditions of his age. His knowledge of the world and its secrets is gained from a study of the conditions of his own day. To say this is not to deny its originality or its unity of purpose. It is never a mere mosaic, but bears clearly upon it the stamp of a great, of a spiritual mind. The most cursory comparison with previous and subsequent "revelations" shows its immense superiority, literary, artistic and spiritual.

Nor does this view deny its value; rather it enhances it. It

becomes a real and a living book written by processes intelligible up to a certain point, and with a clearly defined purpose. It is a positive help to find that its materialistic and almost grotesque imagery was not invented by the seer, still less "revealed" from heaven. It accounts for the obscurities of the book, and warns us against misleading attempts to find "meanings" in details which were often only conventional to the writer. It helps us to understand the Jewish features; we see why the Christian heaven is described in terms of Jewish thought. We can more easily accept the symbolism of its numbers and its allegorical figures when we see that it was the current language of the time. To us, it may seem forced and unnatural, but at least to the writer and his first readers it was intelligible.

And what of its inspiration? In a word it is subjective, not objective. It is not a dictation from without, "supernatural" in the objectionable sense, as overriding the normal processes of the reason and the imagination. The Spirit has worked from within the mind of the seer, using the natural means which are at the call of every writer. What right then have we to speak of "the Spirit" at all? How do we know that the book is in the deepest sense "true"? Simply because our Christian consciousness recognises it as such. We acknowledge indeed at once that the appeal of its different sections varies enormously. In some the inspiration is at a low level; these are the very parts which as a matter of history have been most abused and have led to the wildest errors. But in others the appeal finds us at once and it is no less a matter of history that here too our own verdict is verified by the general experience of Christians. We find in it "the notes of insight and foresight," a prophecy in the true sense as interpreting and justifying the ways of God to man; its stern faith is able to evoke our own faith, its vision of God and its hopes for the future find their echo in our own hearts. We believe it to contain the "word of God," because the Divine in us answers to the Divine in the mind of the writer. It is so in Christ's own teaching. His ultimate appeal is to the inherent truth of His words; they are their own evidence that they are the truth and the life, and are

recognised as such by all who have not lost the power of seeing the truth, in whom the light that is in them has not turned to darkness.

The bearing of the Apocalypse on the whole question of inspiration is most significant. It is crucial for the view which sees in "revelation" not an external message of God, but an internal process—the Divine in man, the immanent Logos, gradually working itself out and received as true not on any external authority, but by the weight of its own self-evidence. We may begin by believing the Bible to be true because we are told it is inspired, we end by believing it to be inspired because we find it, in the sphere of spiritual things, to be true.

There remains in conclusion with respect to the Apocalypse itself the further problem, fascinating but insoluble, "What was the actual psychological process in the mind of the seer?" We speak of the book as a literary product and so in the main it is. But are we to interpret the whole of its language of angels and Christophanies, of trance and of vision as a mere conventional *façon de parler*? We recognise on the one hand that the phenomena of trance have been but little investigated; we are less ready than the last generation to deny their validity *in toto*; we make full allowance for the dependence of vision on memory. And this we can say; the book gives the impression of a solemn belief in the reality of the experiences it describes. The writer certainly believed himself to have had experiences which are not granted to all men. On the other hand we see all through the mark of the artist working consciously and deliberately. The strange thing is that at the very moment of describing these experiences the writer seems to rest most strongly on the conventional language of his predecessors. The role of the visionary is often suddenly dropped; we pass insensibly from the language of trance to that of simple prediction. It is very hard to work out any consistent view. There is a curious note by Dr. Swete on xvii. 3 which just gives the two sides: "He carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness" (*i.e.*, to see the vision of the Great Harlot). The note is, "The movement took place *ἐν πνεύματι*, *i.e.*,

in the sphere of the seer's spirit impelled by the spirit of God. . . . He probably has in view the frequent ecstasies of Ezekiel." Which was it? A literary reminiscence or a personal experience? The writer of the article on "Revelation" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* sums it up well when he says with regard to a similar conception, "A literal voice from heaven this certainly cannot be, and we seem shut up to two possibilities regarding it; either the angels and the voice from heaven belong wholly to the poetry of the piece, its literary form, or they express the writer's own interpretation of the strong impulse, as if from without, under which he wrote". His reverence for the materials he used and his sense that the secrets he unfolded were not his own discovery would naturally lead quite innocently to the use of the impressive imagery of revelation, which he found current. It was the obvious means of emphasising his belief in the reality of his inspiration, his own possibly naïve interpretation of experiences which he could not explain or analyse. The question is interesting but its importance is only secondary. The problem is psychological and does not affect the value of the book. If we were to accept the language of trance in the most literal sense, that would not be the real ground for our belief in its inspiration. The records of a trance need to be criticised and examined even more narrowly than the reasoned productions of the waking mind. Whether trance or poetry, the ultimate proof of the teaching can only be its inherent truth. However we may picture to ourselves the process at work in the seer's mind, however our modern thought may analyse and interpret it, the book is a genuine record of experiences spiritually true. It is "the revelation of Jesus Christ"; the writer was "in the spirit"; he has given us "his own personal realisation of the unseen world," of the present life of Christ and the victory of His Church.

CYRIL W. EMMET.

WHO WAS THE "RICH YOUNG RULER"? A SUGGESTION.

REV. J. BARTON TURNER.

The Gospel story of the young ruler is calculated to produce in most minds a feeling of sorrow, because he was unable to make the surrender asked by Jesus.

For some time we have thought it most unlikely that one, in whom there appeared to be so much goodness that it could be especially remarked that Jesus loved him, could pass quite out of notice and never be heard of again in Christian history. The logic of one's own experience forbade the thought that the young ruler would become worse instead of better; that He who had begun in this young man so good a work, would suffer him to be lost to Christian history. We were confirmed in our belief by reading the words of Jesus to the disciples after the young man's departure, "With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible," words which refer to the difficulty experienced by the rich in general and this man in particular in entering into the kingdom of God, but which also point to the ability of God to enable even the rich and thus even this ruler to do so. Nor are the further words, "There are first who shall be last, and the last first," which refer to the final state of those who have made sacrifices for the sake of Jesus and the Gospel without significance. They seem to mean that self-denial and sacrifice are not to be measured merely by the things surrendered, but also by the nature of the person making the sacrifice. These words we read as a message of hope, and under their inspiration we have tried to find the subsequent history of the young ruler.

Christ was on the borders of Judæa and beyond Jordan¹ when the Pharisees came to Him with captious questions. Most probably some of them were "rulers," members of the Sanhedrin, as is suggested by their question about divorce. Then came the incident of blessing the children and afterwards, as He was going forth into the way—probably the way leading to Jerusalem—the young ruler proposed his question, "Good Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" The presence of the Pharisees in this connection (Mark x.) suggests that the young man had come along with them, and had heard the answers which Jesus gave to their questions. He was a ruler, and the presence of the Pharisees naturally inclines us to think he was a member of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, rather than a ruler of a synagogue, or a judge. The description "young man," given in Matthew xix. 20, does not make this impossible, for the words of the ruler, Mark x. 20, *ἐκ νεότητός μου*, imply that he was of mature years. Also in Acts vii. 58 Saul is described as a young man, and yet he was a member of the Sanhedrin (Acts xxvi. 10).

Perhaps we shall understand his attitude more clearly if we consider the words by which he addresses Jesus, *Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ*, a title which is used in Mark x. 17, and Luke xviii. 18. Evidently he regards Jesus as *an unique teacher* and it seems justifiable to assume that the words imply a previous acquaintance with Jesus and His teaching, which is indeed very probable if he came from Jerusalem. Now compare this title with the name Jesus gives to Himself when He sent Peter and John to Jerusalem to prepare the Passover meal, "*ὁ διδάσκαλος* saith unto thee (the goodman of the house) where is the guest-chamber, where I shall eat the Passover with My disciples?" (Luke xxii. 11, Mark xiv. 14, Matt. xxvi. 18. This expression "The Teacher" occurs nowhere else but in these three parallel passages. Does not this suggest the identity of the young ruler with the goodman of this house? *Jesus announces Himself by a title practically equivalent*

¹ A proverbial phrase on lips of one, W. of Jordan. Cf. Burkitt, *Gospel History and its Transmission*, for contrary view.

to that used by the young ruler. Between the incident related of the young ruler's coming to Jesus, and the request of Jesus for a guest-chamber, our Lord had taught much in Jerusalem, and in John vii. 31 we read—"Nevertheless, even of the rulers many believed on him". It certainly seems reasonable to assume the identity of the young ruler with the "goodman of the house," and to see in him one of those rulers who believed on Jesus, but did not confess Him for fear of being put out of the synagogue. The words of Jesus sent by Peter and John to the "goodman" imply familiarity, and they imply further that the "goodman" recognised in Jesus an unique teacher, and that Jesus recognised in the "goodman" one to whom an expressed desire was equivalent to a command.

Let us now turn to the scene of the arrest of Jesus after the Supper. Matthew, Mark and Luke all tell us "they led away Jesus and Peter followed afar off". Mark alone tells us that "a certain young man followed with him, having a linen cloth cast about him, over his naked body, and they laid hold on him, but he left the linen cloth and fled naked" (Mark xiv. 51, 52). Granting that we are right in identifying the young ruler with the "goodman of the house," and in assuming that he was one of the rulers who had believed on Jesus but had not confessed lest he should be put out of the synagogue, it seems not improbable that the young man in the linen cloth was none other than the "ruler-goodman of the house" who had followed after Jesus and His disciples when they left the supper-room, because, being a ruler, he knew what the rulers were about to do with Jesus, and who having wrapped himself in the linen cloth *as a disguise*, fled immediately they laid hands on him. A comparison of Mark's account of this incident with his account of the young ruler in chap. x. 17-22 leaves the impression that the writer is giving autobiography? And further, as Dr. Swete remarks,¹ the manner of Mark in chapter x. is perceptibly different from that in the previous chapters. There is restraint and shrinking from explicitness.

¹ *Introd., Gospel Mark*, p. lxi.

Facts are not withheld, but details are given very sparingly. After chapter x. the old manner reappears, and the teaching during the last days of Jesus in Jerusalem is given with a fulness that is wanting in the earlier chapters. Can it be that the change in manner which is perceptible in chapter x. is due to a sense of shame in the writer, which accounts for his concealing both the identity of the young ruler (x. 17-22) and of the young man (xiv. 51)? And is the full treatment of the teaching of Jesus in Jerusalem, given in later chapters, explained on the supposition of Mark being one of the rulers who believed on Jesus? It has already been widely supposed that the "young man in the linen cloth" was the writer, Mark. We would suggest that he is one with the "goodman of the house," and further that the "goodman" is the young ruler. This latter inference, as we have already shown, is drawn from the use of *Διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ* on the part of the young ruler as a title for Jesus and the corresponding use of *ὁ διδάσκαλος* applied by Jesus to Himself, in His message to the "goodman". This position is strengthened if we bear in mind the modest account of these two incidents of the young ruler and the young man in the linen cloth, and the hints which, beneath this modesty, betray an intimate knowledge of the situation—"Jesus beholding him loved him," "And his countenance fell at that word," and so on.¹

Following the argument still further, when we learn from John xx. 19-26 and Acts i. 4 that Jesus appeared to His disciples when they were met together after His crucifixion, and from Acts i. 13, 14 that the place where they met together, and where they abode, was an upper chamber, and that there "with one accord they continued steadfastly in prayer, with certain women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with His brethren," it is not unreasonable to conclude that the room in which the disciples met after the crucifixion, and perhaps on the Day of Pentecost, was the same room as that in which Jesus had eaten the Passover meal with His

¹ On the "goodman" *cf.* Edersheim, *Life*, ii., p. 485. On *νεανίσκος*, Mark, xiv, 51, 52, see Swete.

disciples, and, therefore, if our previous surmises be correct, the very room which belonged to Mark.

We turn now to Acts viii. 1 and read of a great persecution which arose "against the Church which was at Jerusalem; and they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judæa and Samaria, *except the Apostles*". This note "except the Apostles" becomes very luminous if we allow the conclusion that the Apostles made their home with Mark, whom we have identified with the rich young ruler; and the more so if this ruler had not openly, as yet, confessed his belief in Jesus Christ, for they would be under the ruler's protection. Again, Barnabas, who was Mark's cousin (Col. iv. 10), *takes the liberty of bringing Saul to the Apostles*, after other disciples had disbelieved Saul's story of his own conversion. Now, if the Apostles were dwelling with Mark, or making his house their rendezvous, this action seems quite natural in view of the kinship existing between Barnabas and Mark. Yet another point worthy of notice is that when Peter was imprisoned by Herod (Acts xii. 1-6) "prayer was made earnestly of the Church unto God for him," and when he was released by the angel, it was to the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, that he naturally turned his steps. This fact, and the additional one that Rhoda, the slave-girl, recognised his voice before she opened the door, suggest that he came thither because it was his home. This house of Mary answers to the house with a "large upper room" where the Passover was eaten by Jesus and His disciples, and where the disciples afterwards assembled, for "many were gathered together there" (Acts xii. 12). Mary was evidently a woman of ample means, for the house had a porch, and a slave-girl, Rhoda, attended the door. It may be objected that the fact that Mary was the nominal owner of the house is against the possibility of identifying either Mark with the "goodman" οἰκοδεσπότης, or the house of the "Passover" with the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark. But it does not necessarily follow that the οἰκοδεσπότης of a house must be the owner: and again, supposing Mark to have been the owner, it may well be that he had complied with the

demand of Jesus to sell all, only reserving a home and a living for his mother, perhaps moved by the example of Barnabas (Acts iv. 36, 37).

The absence of James and the brethren from this important prayer meeting (Acts xii. 12) may be accounted for by some urgent need for their presence elsewhere. Owing to persecution, the believers in Jerusalem at this time were not numerous and it is not likely that many prayer meetings would be held at the same time by the Church on behalf of Peter.

The next mention of Mark is in Acts xii. 23. He was in Jerusalem during the famine of 45-46 A.D. when Barnabas and Saul visited the city for the purpose of conveying to the Church the alms of the brethren at Antioch ; and on their return they took him back with them.¹ From Antioch, Barnabas and Saul journeyed to Cyprus, and Mark accompanied them. "And when they were at Salamis, they proclaimed the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews : and they had also John as their assistant."² It is reasonable to suppose that Mark had had considerable intercourse with the Apostles at Jerusalem to qualify him for this position, and also that he had special gifts which commended him to Barnabas and to Saul, apart from his being a kinsman of the former. This equipment is certain if we allow that Mark's house was the place where Jesus and his disciples met for the supper, and where the Apostles met, even if they did not abide, after the crucifixion. And if we allow that Mark, as the "goodman of the house," is one with the rich young ruler, is there not a peculiar fitness in his being chosen as the companion of these two Apostles of Jesus Christ?

Following this trio we arrive at Perga and there the two Apostles propose to cross the Taurus and preach in the country beyond, to peoples of strange languages and strange religions. But Mark leaves them, and the reason can best be inferred from Paul's attitude towards Mark, when, as Paul and Barnabas were about to start on their second missionary journey, Barnabas

¹ See Swete, *Introd., Gospel Mark*, p. xv.

² See Hastings' *D.B.*, Art. "Mark".

proposes to take Mark. Paul is firmly opposed to Barnabas' proposal on the ground that formerly Mark had deserted, and went not with them to the work (Acts xv. 38). Now this attitude can hardly be accounted for on the ground of difference of opinion respecting the original plans for the first missionary journey, nor on the ground of a difference of opinion and belief concerning the taking of the Gospel to the Gentiles, nor yet on the ground that Mark resented the precedence which Paul was gradually acquiring over his kinsman Barnabas.

Rather, does not Paul act under the belief that Mark's conduct was selfish and cowardly? The love of ease and luxury had not yet been completely eliminated from Mark's nature, and it was probably on this account that he left the two Apostles at Perga, and returned to Jerusalem, and to his mother's home. He would find the work more exacting than he anticipated, and the proposal to cross the Taurus, and encounter fresh dangers and privations, would make a demand upon his courage which he could not meet, and so, unable to face so great self-sacrifice, he departed and carried with him Paul's contempt.

Somehow this conduct seems familiar, and so too does this young man. Can he be other than the young ruler who went away from Jesus sorrowing, unable to part with his softness and luxury? Is he not one of those rulers that believed on Jesus, but did not confess Him, lest they should be put out of the synagogue? Is it not he who followed Jesus, after His arrest, *but disguised*, and who fled when hands were laid on him? The failing of one's nature is not conquered in a moment. Even after one has left all and followed Jesus, there come times when the old weakness is felt intensely and its voice is obeyed. But the child becomes a man, and years bring strength, and so, in after days, Mark has grown out of his weakness and is ready for service and suffering. His labour and sacrifice eventually win Paul's approval; he becomes a solace to the Apostle in his first imprisonment; he is afterwards commended to the Churches in Asia, and towards the close of the Apostle's life, when Timothy is about to proceed from Ephesus to Rome in order to

visit Paul, he is exhorted to bring with him Mark, for "he is profitable unto me for the ministry". And to Peter he became endeared as "his own son," whom also he "interpreted," and from whom he received much of the contents of his Gospel.

"Jesus beholding him loved him," and loved him out of his softness and riches, and into the self-sacrifice, the courage, the saintliness and love of the kingdom of God. "With men this is impossible, but with God all things are possible." "Many that are last shall be first."

J. BARTON TURNER.

REVIEWS.

Pauline and other Studies.¹ BY W. M. RAMSAY, HON. D.C.L., "We had a long talk," said Carlyle once, "differing in nothing but detail." That is the only way we can ever differ from Professor Ramsay, who takes his readers into his confidence in a manner that adds to the charm of a volume of essays that hardly stand in need of any such addition. It is a pleasure to read from the pen of a true scholar the account of how and why he was led to change his opinions, such as we read in the seventh essay, "On the Acts of the Apostles". He tells us how the work of Professor Mommsen and his pupils has completely upset the theories of early Church History which caused a late date to be assigned to the Acts and to other New Testament writings. It used to be the theory that State persecution of Christians did not begin before the second century. Professor Ramsay was himself, he tells us, under the domination of that theory. Now we know that State persecution of the Christians was the standing procedure; Pliny's well-known letter to Trajan simply "suggests in a respectful, hesitating, tentative way, reasons why the procedure should be reconsidered". Hence he adds, "the new views have driven the current of educated opinion towards a first-century date". We should be greatly interested to hear what Professor Burkitt has to say to this. He (*Gospel History and Its Transmission*, p. 262) puts both St. Luke and the Acts at about A.D. 100. It is true his reasons are largely based on different arguments. However, we will let this pass: the last word on the date of the Lucan documents has not been spoken yet.

Much the most interesting essay in the volume is that on the "Statesmanship of St. Paul". Professor Ramsay still holds, rightly we think, what he previously taught about St. Paul's birth and family circumstances in *Paul the Traveller*. His expansion of Galatians i. 15 is so interesting that we quote it in full:—

"That statement is couched in the simple concrete form in which ancient thought uttered itself; and it expresses what we should put in

¹ *Pauline and other Studies*. By W. M. Ramsay, Hon. D.C.L., etc. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

more abstract and scientific terms—that heredity and environment had determined his bent of mind, that his family and his early surroundings had been so arranged by an overruling power that he was made to be the person who should preach to the Gentiles ; but that the truth which ultimately he should preach had to be awakened to consciousness in him at the proper time.”

This gives the text of a long and very valuable study of the mind of St. Paul. Professor Ramsay maintains that there was an absolute continuity in St. Paul's ideas—purified, or rather very greatly enlarged, by Christianity. He holds that the cry, “I am a Pharisee, the Son of a Pharisee,” etc., was no trick : that St. Paul had a following amongst the better-minded Pharisees, and that his words were no sudden suggestion called forth by fears for his own safety, but his deliberate and life-long acceptance of true Jewish nationalism and his repudiation of the opportunism of the Sadducees. Even if the reader is not convinced he will be delighted with the clearness of the arguments. Some may think them a little too clever. Possibly “If the Sadducees condemned him [Paul] as a Christian, the Pharisees condemned him quite as much for being a Sadducee” is overstated. And Professor Ramsay may not, throughout the essay, have sufficiently allowed for that development which is taught in Dr. Matheson's delightful little book, *The Spiritual Development of St. Paul*. We only add, “No student must omit to read this essay”.

On page 255, in a very interesting little essay rather oddly entitled “Questions,” Professor Ramsay says that those who hold that St. Peter's Epistle was written from the city of Babylon, “however great they may be as purely verbal scholars, stamp themselves as untrustworthy judges in all matters that refer to the life and society of the Empire”.

If he is alluding to Professor Blass, and the reasons given in his *Philology of the Gospels* for holding that view, we think the sentence unfortunate. Professor Blass is far more than a “purely verbal scholar” ; we cannot think the idea is fairly described as “perverse” ; and though we greatly respect Dr. Hort, still that he “decisively rejected” does not finally settle the question.

An account of “Life in the Days of St. Basil the Great” concludes a volume that contains fifteen essays, every one of which will interest the student of early Christianity.

A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.¹ Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, D.D. “Of the making of many dictionaries there is no end : ”

¹ *A Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*. Edited by James Hastings, D.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. Vol. i. : Aaron—Knowledge.

so we said when first we saw the announcement of Dr. Hastings' latest venture; but we have since been glad to admit that we said it in our haste. For, so far as we have read—and we do not pretend to have read the whole of 940 double-columned pages—the articles will prove a very valuable help to the student. The preface indeed does not so speak of the purpose of the *Dictionary*, it calls it “first of all, a preacher's dictionary”. We envy Dr. Hastings his cheerful optimism; or at any rate, we hope congregations will consciously or unconsciously find that it has become so; if they do, we shall no longer be wearied with long letters in the ecclesiastical newspapers explaining, quite wrongly, why men do not come to church. In fact, if any lay brother wishes really to help “the new curate” or the old vicar, he cannot do better than make him a present of this volume.

Its purpose is exactly defined in the preface: “It is, in a sense, complementary to the *Dictionary of the Bible*”. Those who have the last-named volumes will find it both useful and interesting to compare the article, or articles, for there are often more than one, in this new *Dictionary* on any particular subject with those on the same subject in its predecessor. Take, for instance, St. John's Gospel. That in the *Bible Dictionary* was by Dr. Reynolds, and the whole subject was dealt with in a very scholarly way. In the *Christ Dictionary* there are two articles, one critical by Mr. Strachan, which any clergyman who has to deal with the better-educated classes will find exceedingly useful: and the other, somewhat mystical, by Dr. Inge. It is a most suggestive article, we have found it delightful reading. Whether the preacher, except in very exceptional cases, will find it *directly* useful, we feel very doubtful; but indirectly it will be of immense use. It will suggest topics which, if the preacher will allow himself time to think them out thoroughly, will gradually become just such sermons as the lay brother will listen to gladly. Never mind if Dr. Inge is occasionally a little fanciful: even eccentricity (which is much too strong an expression) is better than the dull monotony of the divine who clothes an ordinary “skeleton” with commonplace verbiage.

Another feature is that the difficult problems of the day are fairly and honestly faced. Take, for instance, the article, “Accommodation” It is by Dr. Willis. How far did Jesus in His teaching use “popular, figurative expressions”? What was His attitude towards the Messianic expectations of His time? These are the kind of difficulties that the modern teacher and preacher—unless he designedly confines himself to “milk” and severely lets alone “strong meat”—cannot pass by. A similar article is Mr. Morgan's “Back to Christ,” which is largely concerned with Ritschlian theology; the theology which is, and will be as long as Dr. Harnack writes,

the most influential in Germany, and therefore (to some extent) in Scotland and England.

The *Dictionary*, moreover, is far more comprehensive than its title would indicate ; Christ and the Gospels are not adhered to in any strict verbal sense. There is an article by Professor Knowling on "Criticism," which hardly comes under these heads, and is very rarely suitable for the pulpit, but it is a most valuable article. It gives in a concise but perfectly clear and sufficient manner the growth and fluctuations of criticism from the days of Strauss and Baur right on to almost the present year. In other words it is both an account and a review of the theories, objections, etc., raised by the leading writers—both in Germany and England—of the last seventy years. It is a most encouraging article for any one perplexed by the speeches of over-advertised orators whose knowledge is not always in proportion to their verbosity. He will see from Professor Knowling's article two things: first, how very short-lived many theories are. Who, nowadays, except diligent students, knows much about Baur's theories? No doubt, in a sense, Baur did good work; he enforced the fact that the Apostles were, sometimes at any rate, men of like passions to ourselves. But he pushed his theories to such absurd lengths that they are now almost entirely abandoned. And so with many more.

And secondly the reader of Professor Knowling's article will see that the citadel is still, as indeed it has always been, the Person of Christ. Therefore, as we said above, he will take courage. We think he will agree with the words of Professor Burkitt, quoted in the article: "The only time when Christians would have cause to be afraid was when the far off figure of Jesus Christ no longer attracted the critic and the student, but there was no evidence that that day was in sight".

We think we have said enough to show to our readers the great value of this volume.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Messrs. SAMUEL BAGSTER & SONS, 15 Paternoster Row, London.

The Disciple in the Seven Churches, by A. Allen Brockington.

From Messrs. GEORGE BELL & SONS, London.

The Food of Christ's Soldiers, the Holy Communion with prayers from ancient sources, by A. C. Champneys, M.A.

[Primarily intended to supply to schoolboys in an intelligible form thoughts on the Holy Communion, and to put them in possession of prayers suitable for daily use. These prayers are, in the main, adapted from ancient liturgies.]

From Messrs. ADAM & CHARLES BLACK, Soho Square, London.

The English Woman's Year-Book and Directory, 1907-8, edited by Emily Janes. 2s. 6d. net.

[Gives valuable information on women's education, employments, professions, amusements, philanthropy and religious work, etc.]

The Birth of Christ: a Translation, by Wilhelm Soltau. Cheap edition, 6d.

Christianity and History: a Translation, by Adolf Harnack. 6d.

[An essay originally published in the form of a lecture, which was delivered to the members of that branch of the Evangelical Union which is established in Berlin.]

The Epistle of Psenosiris, an Original Document from the Diocletian Persecution, edited and explained by Adolf Deissmann. 6d.

[The papyrus leaf which forms this document was found recently by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in the great oasis of the Libyan Desert.]

The Divine Discipline of Israel, an address and three lectures on the growth of ideas in the Old Testament, by G. Buchanan Gray, M.A. 6d.

[The lectures are published in the belief that the readiness to accept the main conclusions of the modern literary criticism of the Old Testament is already sufficiently widespread to justify an exposition and interpretation of some of the Old Testament ideas based on those conclusions yet without reference to the processes by which they have been reached.]

From Messrs. ADAM & CHARLES BLACK (*continued*).

Jesus in Modern Criticism, by Dr. Paul W. Schmiedel. 6d.

[Addressed to non-theologians as well as specialists.]

From Messrs. CHATTO & WINDUS, London.

A Christmas Sermon, by Robert Louis Stevenson.

From Messrs. T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street, Edinburgh.

The Literature of the New Testament. The Fourth Gospel: Its Purpose and Theology, by Ernest F. Scott, M.A. 6s. net.

[The author assumes the results of the critical investigation. The author believes that all the material for forming a judgment on the date and authorship has been collected and sifted. Different writers may read different conclusions but cannot add to the evidence. He adopts the position regarding date and authorship generally accepted by continental scholars, as against that of the leading English scholars. The external evidence in his view warrants no decisive verdict on either side, consequently he calls in the evidence of the internal character. He finds the difficulties which this presents are best explained by the continental position.]

To Christ through Criticism, by Richard W. Seaver, M.A. 3s. 6d. net.

[In this book, which embodies the substance of the Donellan Lectures at Dublin University, 1905-6, the author endeavours to indicate rather the trend than the result of modern religious thinking. It is to assist that increasing number of Christian people whom the traditional presentation of Christianity—Anglican and Genevan—has ceased to influence. There is imminent danger that these, identifying Theology with Religion, Scholasticism with the Faith of Christ, may tacitly consider themselves outside the Christian Fellowship. The book opens with a chapter on "The New Theology".]

The Gospel History and its Transmission, by F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., F.B.A. 6s. net.

[Lectures delivered at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London as the Jowett Lectures for 1906.]

From Messrs. WELLS GARDNER, DARTON & CO., 3 Paternoster Buildings, London. E.C.

The Truth of Christianity, compiled from various sources by Lieut.-Col. W. H. Turton, D.S.O. Sixth edition. 2s. 6d. net.

[The author seeks, with very considerable success, to marshal the philosophic and scientific arguments for Christianity and explain them in a language which the average man can understand. He moulds his book upon a threefold division, Natural Religion, The Jewish Religion, The Christian Religion.]

From Mr. FRANCIS GRIFFITHS, 34 Maiden Lane, Strand, London.

Adventus Regni, being sermons, chiefly on the Parables of the Kingdom, by A. L. Lilly. 3s. net.

[Our Lord's life was *the* Divine Revelation, His teaching was the diffuse and fragmentary comments, inspired by the circumstances of the moment and the special needs of His hearers, upon that revelation of God which was *in* Him, and might be and ought to be in all men. The sermons are an attempt to study His teaching in this aspect.]

Essays for the Times, the Problem of Personality, by Rev. F. W. Orde Ward, B.A. 6d. net.

[The subject is discussed under four heads : The Secret of the Individual, The Secret of Personality, Personality and Volition, The Secret of Reality.]

The World's Desire and other sermons, by Joseph B. Mayor, M.A. 3s. net.

Lux Hominum, Studies of the Living Christ in the World of To-day. Edited by F. W. Orde Ward. 7s. 6d.

[A series of essays by various scholars endeavouring to present popularly the modern points of view.]

From THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY OF THE APOCRYPHA, 15 Paternoster Row, London.

The International Journal of Apocrypha, January, 1907. 6d.

[A journal which seeks to make more widely known the theological, ecclesiastical and literary value of the Apocryphal Books.]

From MR. JOHN LANE, Vigo Street, London, W.

The Independent Review, 2s. 6d.

[A quarterly review whose title is in future to be "The Albany Review".]

From Messrs. LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO., 39 Paternoster Row, London.

Public Worship in the Book of Common Prayer, a Handbook for Lay People, by Rev. C. R. Davey Biggs, D.D. 2s. 6d. net.

[The author sees the seeds of the conflict concerning the provision of Public Worship in the Prayer Book to lie in the compromise which England made 300 years ago in her struggle for religious freedom ; a compromise sad but necessary. Yet despite this compromise and its harvest the lay people have received a moral and spiritual training from worship in the Book of Common Prayer. The author examines the content and value of this training.]

From Messrs. LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO. (*continued*)

The Papal Commission of the Pentateuch, by the Rev.
Charles A. Briggs and Baron Friedrich von Hügel.

[A correspondence between Dr. Briggs and Baron Friedrich von Hügel called forth by the Answers of the Pontifical Biblical Commission upon the Pentateuch. In the letters the authors reformulate to each other the slowly acquired, deliberate convictions of many years closest study of the Pentateuch and of the critical work which four generations of scholars have expended on this great complex of writings. They, as students within the Christian Church, are convinced of the importance and inevitableness of the positions which have been arrived at and feel their responsibility and duty as to the expression of those positions. They would contribute their share towards the advent of definitive, operative recognition, by Ecclesiastical Authority, of sound critical, historical method, and of this method's most assured results.]

Quiet Hours with the Ordinal, a series of Addresses, by the
Rt. Rev. J. W. Diggle, D.D. 2s. net.

[First delivered at the quiet Day at the Advent Ordination of 1902, in the Diocese of Worcester and printed at the request of Bishop Gore and others.]

Religion a Permanent Need of Human Nature, by Rev.
W. O. E. Oesterley, B.D. 3d. net.

[The object of the series of papers of which this is one, is to set before Jews of Western training and education such aspects of Judaism and Christianity as seem to be of special importance. They are written from a confessedly Christian standpoint.]

The Temptation of Our Lord, considered as related to the
Ministry and as a Revelation of His Person, being the Hulsean
Lectures for 1905-6, by H. J. C. Knight, B.D. 4s. 6d. net.

[Mr. Knight has taken advantage of that part of Mr. Hulse's requirements which permits his lecturer to be an expositor of Holy Scripture, treating "difficult texts and obscure parts". His object is to enter into a mind, a consciousness, the working of a life, that he may show it to others. The limits imposed by the sub-title lead the author to contemplate the Lord chiefly in the activities of His human Nature.]

Readings from Law's Serious Call, with an Introduction
by the Bishop of London. 1s. 6d. net.

The Sanctuary of Suffering, by Eleanor Tee. New Edition.
3s. 6d. net.

[The writer does not profess to dogmatise upon the mysteries of pain and sorrow and inequalities, but accepting their mysteriousness, to dwell in the spirit of quiet and practical meditation upon the various forms of suffering and their purpose in the final manifestation of the Divine Love.]

From Messrs. LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO. (*continued*).

Sin, by the Rev. H. V. S. Eck, M.A. 5s.

[The latest addition to the *Oxford Library of Practical Theology*. The author's aim is simply and solely a practical one, justified by the great need there is of dealing practically with sin. The real difficulties of the vast majority of lives is moral not intellectual. In view of the havoc wrought in men's lives by sin the author seeks to help men to face their sin and fight against it with hopefulness and courage. The book is divided into three discussions, on Original Sin, Actual Sin, and the Way of Recovery.]

From Messrs. MACMILLAN & CO., London.

The Fifth Gospel, by the author of *The Faith of a Christian*.
3s. 6d. net.

[The author asserts that the writings of St. Paul are a gospel, in that they are the fullest attempt which we possess to explain the significance of the life and ministry of Jesus. The account which the Apostle gives is the strongest argument against the mythical explanation of Christianity. "To account for Christianity apart from the Gospel of Paul is impossible, and to account for Paul himself apart from the historic Christ is equally impossible."]

From Messrs. METHUEN & CO., 36 Essex Street, London, W.C.

Christian Theology and Social Progress, being the
Bampton Lectures for 1905, by F. W. Bussell. 10s. 6d. net.

[The author begins his lectures with a profound sense of the chasm which separates theory and practical life, and the increasing difficulty in justifying the moral scruple, the religious hope. Few seem to realise how far we have drifted on the downward grade towards an unknowable God or Root of Being, which is after all mere Force and gives no answer to prayer. The word "democracy" is robbed of its meaning, personal value everywhere denied, and men set aside as an old wives' fable the Gospel-teaching of the worth of souls. In view of all this the author's aim is to show how the general welfare is bound up with the faiths and hopes of Christian belief, and further, and most important, how the *general* welfare can only rightly be secured by justice to the *particular persons* who make up the whole. He pleads for the only alliance which can give aim and self-confidence to the "democratic" movement so strangely arrested to-day—The Gospel and the People.]

The Gospel According to St. Mark, explained by J. C. du
Buisson, M.A. 2s. 6d. net.

[The latest addition to the *Verbum Dei* series. In this series the editors of the several books make it their main endeavour to exhibit and emphasise the permanent truths and principles underlying the Sacred Text and to indicate the bearing of those truths and principles on the spiritual, the moral, and the social life of the present day.]

From Messrs. SHERRATT & HUGHES, 60 Chandos Street, London.

Secret Commissions, the Prevention of Corruption Act at a
Glance, by J. Devonald Fletcher. 3d. net.

From Messrs. SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO., London.

The Bible in the Full Light of Modern Science, by Wm.
Woods Smyth, Fellow of the Medical Society, London.

From Messrs. SMITH, ELDER & CO., 15 Waterloo Place, London.

The Teaching of Our Lord in the Gospels, by John Boyd Kinnear. 2s. 6d. net.

[The author seeks to collect the teaching under its principal heads. He collects not merely the words of our Lord but adds to the words sufficient of the context to show the occasion when they were uttered and their intention.]

Outlines for the Study of Biblical History and Religion, by F. K. Saunders, Ph.D., D.D., and H. T. Fowler, Ph.D. With maps and charts. 6s.

[The outgrowth of eighteen years of experiment in the effort to give an orderly view of the development and significance of the Bible. The authors bear in mind four classes of students. The college student with no professional interest but anxious to know something of the Bible in its rightful place in human history; the graduate student specialising in Oriental history; the professional student of theology, and the general student.]

From Messrs. ELLIOT STOCK, 62 Paternoster Row, London.

God, Man and the Garden, Puzzles, Problems and Parables solved by the word of God, by R. W. Beachey.

[The object of the book is to assent to the assertions that a revelation from God is necessary to enable a man to interpret the various phenomena of life and matter and that the Bible supplies this need.]

Criticism and the Old Testament, a popular Introduction, by the Rev. H. Theodore Knight, M.A.

[Under the impression that the average man does not wish to know the date and authorship of various books and documents so much as to learn how modern scholarship has affected our view of the Old Testament, alike as a historical narrative and as the record of a Revelation, the author seeks to meet this wish.]

The Fourfold Portrait of the Heavenly King, as presented in the Four Gospels, by Interpreter. 600 pages. Crown 4to. £1 11s. 6d. net.

[The author who, though styling himself "Interpreter," has no connection with the magazine which bears the same name, believes that the way to reach the mind of the Spirit is to study the Scriptures as literary masterpieces which shine by their own light. Thus far he sympathises with the Higher Criticism. The work comprises: (1) a new translation of the Four Gospels from what is probably the first form of the Greek Text, so arranged that by a comparison with the authorised and revised versions printed beside it, the words and phrases needing further examination can be seen at a glance. (2) Passages culled from the Old Testament showing which are quoted literally, and which are taken from the Septuagint. (3) The collection of corresponding passages from each Gospel with distinctions of type to show additional matter and apparent discrepancies. (4) A new division of the material of each Gospel, showing the writer's reason for selecting and grouping events and discourses. (5) A new harmony of the Gospels. (6) Notes to bring out any meanings which the translations could not be made to express.]

Daily Prayers for Boys and Girls, by Miss M. Pulling. 1d.

SOCIETY FOR BIBLICAL STUDY.

A SKETCH OF ITS HISTORY AND ITS PRESENT POSITION.

In view of the immense advantages offered by the Royal Economic and Royal Statistical Societies to students of economic and statistical subjects, many expressed the wish that a society might be formed along similar lines and offering similar advantages to those who wished to pursue Biblical studies. It was suggested that such a society, if formed upon sufficiently comprehensive lines, would create fresh interest in Biblical research, awaken many to the importance of and the enlarged possibilities for Biblical studies, and encourage those who were anxious to keep pace in this subject with the rapid progress which is being made in other branches of scientific inquiry.

Consequently a scheme was set on foot to found such a society. The first step was to draw together, from the leading universities, a representative body of Biblical scholars who would be competent by learning and experience to control the formation and administration of the proposed society. The aim of the promoters was a wide one. It bore in mind the needs of ministers, missionaries and teachers who are out of touch with any representative society, who have not had the advantage of studying modern methods, but who would like, if they had the necessary guidance, to pursue a systematic course of study. It realised the great importance of attracting younger students and showing to them the value of modern Biblical study. It sought to assist isolated readers generally by giving advice in the selection of books and other such specific points. It aimed ultimately at enlarging its activities by the formation of local centres and arranging for courses of lectures. *THE INTERPRETER* was provisionally selected as the journal to assist in the promotion of the objects of the new Society.

A rough outline of the original scheme met with the warm approval of many distinguished Biblical scholars, who assisted it with their names and influence. Several amendments to the original prospectus were pro-

posed, and in consequence of announcements in *THE INTERPRETER* many inquiries were received. One feature of the scheme—the provision of a quarterly leaflet giving directions for the pursuit of a systematic course of study—was immediately put into operation, and the Society enrolled many members.

Illness temporarily hindered the progress of the work but in the autumn a Provisional Committee was formed embracing representatives from the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, Manchester and St. Andrews. The members met in January and carefully considered all the items of the scheme. They decided to describe the new Society as “The Society for Biblical Study,” and issued a revised prospectus outlining the general objects of the Society and enumerating its bye-laws. Steps were taken for the immediate formation of a properly constituted and representative council who would appoint small committees to undertake the advancement of the various objects of the Society. On the adjoining page there will be found the prospectus as revised by the Provisional Committee of Management.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

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Professor of Biblical Criticism and
Exegesis,
University of Manchester.
F. C. COOK
(*Hon. Secretary*),
35 Donovan Avenue, Muswell Hill, N.

GENERAL OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

- 1.—To bring the members of the Society into direct relations with Biblical Scholars.
- 2.—To provide advanced students, lay or clerical, but especially ministers and missionaries in active work, with systematic and scientific courses of study.

- 3.—To arrange less advanced courses of study for Christian workers, young students, young business men and women. Also—
 - (i.) To help in the selection of the best type of books.
 - (ii.) To accustom members to the scientific method of inquiry.
- 4.—To render special assistance to isolated members whether they rank as more advanced or less advanced students.
- 5.—To have a Journal like other scientific Societies, so that members may become acquainted with the latest phases of thought on particular questions and grasp the problems of the times. Arrangements have been made by which THE INTERPRETER will become the Journal of the Society.
- 6.—To have as the chief aim of the Society the strengthening of Christian faith and character.

BYE-LAWS.

- 1.—The Society shall be known as "The Society for Biblical Study".

Aim of the Society.

- 2.—The aim of the Society is to encourage and advance the study of the Sacred Scriptures and of the great departments of knowledge more or less in immediate relation thereto.

The Society shall endeavour to promote its aim by

- (i.) The issue of a Journal (and other printed publications) under the sanction of the Society.

In view of the representative character of the Society the Journal is not to be confined to one School of thought.

- (ii.) An Annual Conference for the opportunity of mutual intercourse and the discussion of the latest investigations and discoveries.
- (iii.) Provision in the case of advanced students for systematic and scientific courses of reading (including seminars). In the first instance the correspondence system would be adopted. Special fees would be charged.
- (iv.) The formation in the case of less advanced students of a Bible Study Guild with periodical local gatherings for friendly discussion, inquiries, etc., etc. Special guidance shall be given by the Society by the issue of leaflets, etc., to members.
- (v.) Such other subsidiary means of usefulness as the Council of the Society may decide upon, *e.g.*, courses of lectures and direction as to the selection of books.

Officers of the Society.

- 3.—The Officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, the two Honorary Secretaries, and the Editorial Secretary.

Council of the Society.

- 4.—The Council of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, the two Honorary Secretaries, and thirty Councillors chosen from among and by the vote of the Fellows of the Society.

Membership.

- 5.—The Society shall consist of Fellows and Associates. It shall be open to ladies as well as gentlemen, and the number of Fellows and Associates shall be unlimited. Every candidate for election as a Fellow of the Society shall be proposed in writing by at least two Fellows, and such proposal shall be notified to the Secretary of the Society. Fellows shall be elected by the Council.

Annual Subscription.

- 6.—The Annual Subscription shall be for a Fellow one guinea, for an Associate five shillings. The Journal of the Society and the communications in connection with the Bible Study Guild shall be supplied free to Fellows and Associates. The subscription shall become payable on the 1st of January in each year.

Should more than one member of a family residing at the same address desire to become an Associate, the first member shall pay an annual subscription of five shillings, the others each one shilling. In these cases only one copy of the Journal of the Society shall be forwarded to the address given, but each member shall receive the leaflets, etc., relating to the Bible Study Guild.

THE INTERPRETER.

Contributors.

Among others the following have consented to contribute:—

- The RT. REV. HERBERT RYLE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester.
- The REV. W. F. ADENEY, D.D., Principal of Lancashire College, Manchester.
- The REV. W. C. ALLEN, M.A., Hebrew Lecturer, Exeter College, Oxford.
- The REV. W. EMERY BARNES, D.D., Hulsean Professor of Divinity, Cambridge.
- The REV. C. F. BURNEY, D.D., Hebrew Lecturer, St. John's College, Oxford.
- The REV. CANON DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford.
- The REV. A. M. FAIRBAIRN, LL.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford.
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THE INTERPRETER.

Then said the Interpreter to Christian, Hast thou considered all these things?

Chr.: Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

Society for the Study of Biblical Subjects.

The above society makes steady progress, and its membership is constantly increasing. An enlarged prospectus is now through the press, and will be sent to any who may wish to learn in detail what are the advantages it affords to its members.

Its object is, broadly speaking, to assist all who wish for direction in a scientific course of Biblical Study, whether elementary or advanced. It suggests suitable books both for general and special purposes, and publishes quarterly the outlines of a systematic and progressive course of Bible study. It gives advice as to theological lectures, and arranges, at reduced fees, for correspondence courses with a view to theological degrees. It also makes provision for securing the services of lecturers in connection with local centres.

The council which controls it contains the names of the leading theologians at the several British Universities.

The annual subscription is 5s., and in return for this sum the member receives the INTERPRETER and the various publications of the society, together with all the other advantages which it affords. All particulars, together with the enlarged prospectus, can be obtained from the Honorary Secretary, Mr. F. C. Cook, 35 Donovan Avenue, Muswell Hill, London, N.

Mr. Campbell's "New Theology".

In his introduction to a book to which we shall presently have occasion to refer, Professor Du Bose makes the sane remark that the ultimate aim of each one of us should be not to save ourselves from error but to advance the truth. He adds that our truth will be in the end accepted and our error corrected. Mr. Campbell is possessed by a truth. It is a truth more widely recognised in the schools than outside them. Many of the critics of Mr. Campbell, who find this truth vital to their own thought, fail to realise how the lack of it is impeding the progress of Christianity, for it lets Christian men express the fundamental truths of Christianity in one set of terms, while the average man is thinking in another set of terms. As Mr. Campbell sees the multitudes of men who have left the Churches because Christianity was presented to them in a form in which they could not honestly accept it, and as he sees this is largely due to the ignoring of the great truth upon which his thought revolves, he has staked all in his effort to re-present Christianity in the light of this truth, that he may win men back to Christ. And certainly he has brought a Christian message to many a man whom others had failed to reach, and who have welcomed it eagerly.

The truth which constrains Mr. Campbell will live: the exaggerated statements in which it is presented will die. We must remember that his book was not written in the calm seclusion of a university, nor were his words weighed as those should be which are addressed to men who make it their business to ponder carefully what they read. He is a preacher, and the words have flowed hot from his soul. He has been more anxious to find a lodging for his truth than to guard from error. And as for years past he has had to answer letters addressed to the inquiry columns of a great religious weekly, he has been in a peculiar position to apprehend what are the hindrances which stand in men's way, and prevent their acceptance of Christianity. Perhaps he finds a necessity for exaggerated illustration, and has painted that presentation of Christianity which has driven multi-

tudes away from the Churches in its blackest and most grotesque colours that he may show his own distrust of it. And perhaps he has done this to gain the ears and sympathy of those who have suffered through it, with the ultimate object of showing them that it is a parody of Christianity, and no essential part of the religion of Jesus.

Mr. Campbell's Foundation Truth.

But what is the great truth that possesses Mr. Campbell? It is the truth of the Immanence of God : a truth far more familiar to many of Mr. Campbell's critics than to those to whom his volume is addressed. The opposing view, which is now recognised by theologians, philosophers and scientists alike to be an impossible view, dominated eighteenth century thought, and the dregs of it still colour many popular ideas of the Christian religion and vitiate its expression, rendering it obnoxious to thinking men. This eighteenth century idea leads some Christian people to speak in a very unreal and harmful way about God. Mr. Campbell describes the way they express themselves in what is probably an exaggerated fashion, yet who shall deny the substance of his criticism. Men still, he says, talk of God "as though He were (practically) a finite being, stationed somewhere above and beyond the universe, watching and worrying over other and lesser finite beings—to wit, ourselves. According to the received phraseology, this God is greatly bothered and thwarted by what men have been doing throughout the millenniums of human existence. He takes the whole thing very seriously, and thinks about little else than getting wayward humanity into line again. To this end He has adopted various expedients, the chief of which was the sending of His only begotten Son to suffer and die in order that He might be free to forgive the trouble we had caused Him."

These words grate upon our ears, they seem a parody upon truths we cherish ; but let us make no mistake, Mr. Campbell's words express the beliefs of no small number ; and what is far more serious, they are supposed by the bulk of the opponents of

Christianity to be the beliefs of Christians. And it is only by such forcible words that Mr. Campbell can gain the ears of such people and show them that thoughtful Christians hold views other than these. Listen to the words with which he proceeds: "I hope no reader of these words will think I am making light of a sacred subject: I never was more serious in my life. What I am trying to show is that, reduced to its simplest terms, the accepted theology of the Churches to-day is pitifully inadequate as an explanation of our relationship to this great and mysterious universe. There is a beautiful spiritual truth underneath every venerable article of the Christian faith, but as popularly represented this truth has become so distorted as to be falsehood. It narrows religion and belittles God. It is dishonouring to human nature, and is absolutely ludicrous as an interpretation of the cosmic process." We agree with him when he meets the charge of the dogmatic theologians as they assert that this is a caricature of the relationship of God to the world as it is set forth in religious treatises and from the Christian pulpit. Possibly it is a caricature of the way in which the leaders write or speak of Christianity, if we are to judge their words from the standpoint of trained men; but the old phraseology which has one meaning to them has another meaning to the man in the street, and in a dignified treatise this difference cannot be, and is not, adequately brought out.

The Immanence of God.

But what is this great truth of the Immanence of God? Those who do not understand it need no longer have an excuse for their ignorance, for Messrs. Macmillan have republished, in a sixpenny edition, a volume dealing with the subject which has become classic—Canon Illingworth's *Divine Immanence*, a book lucidly and attractively written. We may perhaps be excused if we briefly follow his argument.

We all attach some meaning to the terms "matter" and "spirit," and as we reflect we shall see that we know them only in combination. Matter, as we know it, is always fused with mind, and this is necessarily so, for the very act of knowing

a thing means that it has come into relation with our mind. Similarly is spirit always connected, in our experience, with matter. Our intelligence, feeling, and will, which are spiritual things, all depend upon our sense organs, which are material things, and we cannot even think without a material brain. Matter and spirit, as far as our actual experience goes, are inextricably combined.

Further, we notice that matter is of use to spirit, while spirit is of no use to matter. When man moulds matter for the purposes of science or art, he is not of use to matter, he only alters the relation of matter to himself, he does not alter its nature; electricity does not cease to be electricity because it is conducted along wires. Spirit is not the ministrant of matter, but on the other hand matter is the ministrant of spirit: matter is of use to spirit. The very state of our consciousness depends upon our brain; and thought, will, and love can only communicate themselves to others by tongue and hand.

And in another way matter is of use to mind. It exercises an inspiring, controlling, quickening influence over human souls. The floating clouds, the stars on a silent night, the great grey sea with its changing moods powerfully impress us. In a thousand delicate and subtle ways matter is the handmaid of spirit, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that matter exists for the purpose of furthering spiritual life: that it is part of the same system as spirit, and exists for the sake of spirit. And since we finite beings who use matter have no share in its production or general course, we infer that it must be guided by a spiritual Being of capacity and will sufficiently great to do so.

The Religious Use of Nature.

Next we observe that the material world from earliest times has always had a *religious* use for man. In no age and under no variety of culture or creed has material nature, the order and aspect of the outer world, ceased to exercise an influence over us, and an influence making for religion. Whether we read the

Egyptian Book of the Dead, the Indian Vedas, or the Hebrew or Greek or Roman literature, or whether we study the writings of the Christian fathers and those of the later Catholic and Protestant theologians, we trace the same religious influence of nature. And this influence is independent of any theological interpretation: it can co-exist with monotheism, polytheism or pantheism. In no way does matter more nobly minister to us than in its religious ministry.

All this is weighty evidence of a spiritual reality behind material things, and it is difficult to impugn this evidence. The experience is a *fact*, and a fact as old as history. It is absurd to think we discredit it by saying it only appeals to our emotional side, for are our emotions less really a function of our complex being than our reason?

But if this universal experience is held to be valid, it is stupendous evidence that the material universe is a manifestation of spirit.

But when we turn to the interpretations of this universal experience; when we turn to the answers to the question, What relation does the material universe bear to the spirit of which it speaks, we find that their number is legion. Polytheism saw many and warring powers behind all. Dualism saw a principle of good and a principle of evil behind all. But to modern eyes the universe is obviously one—if science tells us anything, it tells us that—and polytheism and dualism must go.

The Relation of Spirit to the Material Universe.

How then is spirit related to the material universe? We can only approach this question in one way—through ourselves. Human personality is the thing we know best. We have observed that in human personality spirit and matter are seen in combination. We may further observe that the spirit part *transcends*, even while it is dependent upon the material part. For while the material part of our body changes, we are confessedly the same personal unit as when we were born. Thus while

dependent upon matter, we are moving, in our spiritual essence, in a plane above it. It can change, but we are unaffected : we are its master, not its slave : we transcend it. This is doubly the case with the matter upon which our art or science works. Our spirit transcends matter. But on the other hand our spirit is *immanent* in matter : that is, it pervades matter, so that matter becomes the expression of our own selves, stamped with that peculiarity of ourselves whereby we differ from other selves. Our spirit works through the organism of our brain and gives it its peculiar character : it works through our eye, our voice, our creations. Within ourselves spirit is immanent in matter.

Thus in our own personality we see spirit at once transcending matter and yet immanent in matter. And if we are ever to say how matter can be related to spirit in the universe, it will only be by carrying over to the solution of the problem this actual experience we have of the relation of matter to spirit in our own personality. Thus we shall have to say that God is at once immanent in the universe and that He transcends it. To neglect either side is to fall into error. To say that God is merely immanent in matter without transcending it is pantheism, and at length resolves itself into saying that spirit is ultimately indistinguishable from matter ; that it is only another form of matter. And this is akin to materialism.

To say that God merely transcends but is not immanent in matter is to repeat the error of the eighteenth century. It is deism. And the deist talks beyond his experience, for in our own actual human experience we know of no transcendence without immanence. The deist conceives of God as a Great Mechanic who made the world and set it going and sits apart. In this view miracles are of prime importance, for only by an alteration in the regular working of the machine can we be aware of the existence of the God who is sitting apart, who is not immanent in His universe. It is this view which has coloured so large a part of our current popular theological phraseology. And it is against the excesses of this view that Mr. Campbell protests so vigorously.

Divine Immanence in Man.

That God is immanent in nature commends itself widely to students of science and philosophy as well as of religion, but we may and must go a step further. Man is a part of Nature, therefore God is immanent in man. There is supplementary evidence for this. There is, for instance, conscience with its strange authoritative voice. Are we wrong in calling this the voice of God? At any rate such an assertion fits the facts. For to obey conscience is to develop holiness, and those who have gone furthest in developing holiness ascribe it to God working in them, and they should know best. In man we call God's immanence inspiration, inspiration that is in its widest sense. It leaves its mark on our brain, our body and our features; "through His action upon our spirit God is made manifest in our flesh". And all this prepares us to understand the great climax of God's immanence in the world—the Incarnation. The Divine Immanence of God lies at the very root of the doctrine of the Incarnation.

Finally, How is God immanent in the universe? In our personality our spirit is immanent in our bodies in one way and an essential way. Our spirit is also immanent in the material upon which we work in another and far less essential way. Is God immanent in the universe as we are immanent in our bodies or in our works? Our answer can only be conjectural, but it seems that the Trinitarian conception of God, which Christians have independent reasons to believe correct, is the most satisfactory. In this view it would seem that the Father is essentially immanent in the Son as our spirit is essentially immanent in our bodies, and as a result of this He is immanent in His creation in a way analogous to our presence in our works. But this, like all analogies, is at best but a very imperfect one.

Upon this idea of the Immanence of God which lies at the root of his book Mr. Campbell may have raised many novel theories, but we would be quicker to recognise the truth which

dominates all than to try and expose the weak places. Others will undertake, and are undertaking this latter task, and often with scant charity. Many things he has said he may have said rashly and extravagantly, but many things that needed in the name of true religion to be said he has said vigorously and clearly.

The Gospel According to St. Paul.

Professor Du Bose's book, *The Gospel According to St. Paul* (Messrs. Longmans), is not easy to read. It makes great demands upon our thought, but the toil meets an ample reward. How must we enter into the meaning of the Gospel of Christ? The solution of this problem is the object of the book. In his answer, the author first explains his method of approach by bidding us broadly compare St. John and St. Paul in their treatment of it; then he seeks to penetrate to the heart of St. Paul's treatment alone. St. John, as it were, interprets our Lord by pointing to Him as He stands after His perfected course, and saying: You each of you know in some small sense what it is to live, and you know that you live most really when your actions are highest. You know further how you paint ideals and think that to realise them would be to live more abundantly. But there before you, you see in Jesus Christ human life in all its fulness, all its meaning, all its Divine reality. There *is* Life, actual not ideal, eternal substance not mere vision or shadow. And we may observe from contemplation of that true human Life, that it comes by no mere fiat from without, but by conflict and strife amid human environment. That is, Jesus Christ is the Way of Life. If we would be saved we see in Jesus Christ what salvation means; what we in a finally saved state shall be, for there we see our salvation in all its conditions and means first enacted and wrought out in the personal life and human experience of our Lord. St. John turns us to the picture of our Lord's life as a whole, as a completed product, and says, "The Life was manifested," manifested first to the outward eye, then to the inward vision of a few, and we must declare it.

St. Paul sees Christ rather as our Righteousness than our Life, and he sees in Jesus the salvation of humanity rather in the process of accomplishment than as an accomplished fact ; rather as a product in the making than a product made. Yes, he seems to say with St. John, it is a grand sight to see in our Lord a process completed, to see there all the greatness of humanity, to see the glory of our Lord as man, but it is of prime importance to remember the one life-long human act of faith and obedience through which He became the Man He is. In that life-long obedience St. Paul sees true Righteousness made real and visible in the person of our Lord, and righteousness he had always held and rightly held meant salvation.

But St. Paul does not stop here. He says: As you have seen the perfect righteousness of Jesus saving and exalting His humanity, you can learn also of a method by which that same salvation may be made yours. That method is faith. By faith St. Paul seems, according to Professor Du Bose, to mean some function of our being akin to, but infinitely beyond, our ordinary functions. We make nature our own through our senses, our ordinary functions of seeing and hearing. In like manner we have a higher function through which God makes Himself ours. We call this function faith. When it acts it calls forth all our powers and energies ; it enlists our intelligence, our affections, our will, in fact our entire self-hood.

In his further development of his theme one of Professor Du Bose's most valuable thoughts—not original, for it is to be found far and wide, but excellently re-stated—is this. The whole burden of the gospel is human salvation. But to St. Paul this salvation was not merely the result of what Jesus did for humanity. It was not an exterior consequence just flowing from His action. Nay, *the thing itself*—salvation itself—was actually wrought by Jesus in the humanity which was part of His personality. He saved humanity by making it son of God, and this He did first in Himself, in Himself as man.

And this process we may consider from two points of view, either as God saving man, or *as man saved*. We can readily enough describe what took place in Jesus as what God has done for us or even as what God Himself has done in us. But it is a thought none the less true, though it is less commonly presented, that what took place in Jesus may with equal propriety be considered as what humanity, in Jesus as man, did for itself in God. By its faith in God's grace it became Son of God. Humanity became in Jesus Son of God. This is the meaning of Romans i. 3, 4. Jesus was declared to be, or installed as, Son of God. Read the words thus and He still was only what He *became* through the resurrection. Or read the words as they should be read: Jesus was determined Son of God (in the technical English sense of determined), and the meaning is still clearer, as Professor Du Bose expresses it—"He is in Himself first everything we are to be in Him". Thus the question as to how any man becomes son of God is answered in the most real way in the person of the universal man, the Son of man.

But *how* did man in Jesus Christ become Son of God? Just by the addition of that which the Law had failed to give—a power due to the direct gift of God. This power is seen right through the life of Jesus and it culminates in His resurrection. There, in that resurrection, we see "humanity's own God-wrought and self-wrought victory over sin and death". That power to become the sons of God constitutes the Gospel. From this point of view it is most important to remember that "our Lord's resurrection was not an act of mechanical power wrought upon Him from without, but an act of spiritual power exerted in Him and by Him and that humanly".

In line with this, when we read of "the redemption that is in Christ" we are not merely to read it as if it meant the redemption that we have in Him—it does indeed mean that in all its fulness—but also and most essentially it means the redemption that is in Himself. The redemption was first actually and visibly wrought in Jesus Himself. His perfect holiness and His risen

life proclaimed the fact. This is what is meant by saying that Christ is the actual first-fruits of humanity.

The whole of this view is aimed against that fatal misconception of the Gospel which renders it so obnoxious to many; the misconception that the Gospel is something done for us or instead of us, and not something to be done in us and by us. The Gospel of Jesus Christ is a real Gospel because He enables us to be ourselves what He is, and to do for ourselves what He did. We are personal spirits, and if we are to be redeemed from sin it must be through our personal conquest of sin. The power of God to save us does actually save us in that it becomes our power to save ourselves. This is the meaning which lies beneath all the human experiences of Jesus; in His suffering death and resurrection we see the death to and from sin, and by participation in these we attain in Him to the same result. True Christianity then does not limit or lower human freedom and human activity; it raises them to the highest pitch.

"The Growth of Christianity."

Professor Gardner, the able editor of *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, has written an interesting set of lectures on *The Growth of Christianity* (Messrs. A. & C. Black). The Church, he tells us, did not grow like a chrysalis which develops into a butterfly in isolation. Her task was rather to absorb and assimilate what suited her in the world around. These things she transformed by her own spirit; they underwent a kind of baptism. Some were easily transmuted; others might have been transmuted had the Church had more faith; while, alas, some elements she absorbed she made almost worse than when she found them—but when we think of these latter we cannot but remember that hers is a tale as yet half told. Some ideas were more fully changed than others. Some were baptised into the spirit of Christ, others only into His name.

The Jewish idea of God was baptised into the spirit of Christ. Our Lord did not expressly contradict the narrow

Jewish ideas on this subject, but He undermined the very foundations of their exclusiveness by showing that God is near to every one of us. This He did in simple homely teaching.

Similarly was the Messianic idea, and a multitude of other Jewish ideas, transformed by the spirit of Christ. But surely the mediæval Christianity which gathered up the apocalyptic ideas, and looked for Christ's speedy return in glory to rout His enemies and reign in pomp, cannot be said to have baptised these ideas into anything beyond the name of Christ. When we think of the spiritual teaching and the spiritual conquest of Christ, and when we remember His words to the disciples who would have called fire from heaven to destroy an inhospitable village, "ye know not what spirit ye are of," we must surely agree that these apocalyptic ideas were never baptised into the *spirit* of Christ.

In speaking of the baptism of Hellas, Professor Gardner distinguishes at least three strata in the religion of Greece. There was the religion of the poets and artists, grouping itself about the beautiful worship of Olympus. Speaking generally, this was not baptised in Christianity. There was next the superstitious and somewhat uncivilised religion of the masses. It contained some great and useful religious ideas, and these Christianity to a large extent adopted and transformed. But what the Church most readily adopted and what she found of vast importance in her creed-making was the thought of the philosophers, whose religion with its more or less monotheistic character and its noble conceptions of the Divine nature, formed the third great strata in the Greek religious world.

But it has been of untold loss to Christianity that she did not absorb and transform something more than Greek philosophy. It is to be regretted that in rejecting Greek religion she also rejected many useful elements of a noble civilisation. Dr. Gardner is rightly of the opinion that we cannot regard the Greek gospel of health, enjoyment and beauty as essentially

antagonistic to the Founder of Christianity. But, surely if slowly, many of these elements are being utilised by Christianity, and if she has been tardy in admitting them there may have been a need for her hesitation. It was not possible that asceticism, which looked upon beauty in man or woman almost as a snare, should finally determine the set of the current away from these healthy joyous elements; they had too much in common with the joyous and beautiful teaching of Jesus.

Sir Oliver Lodge's "Catechism".

Sir Oliver Lodge makes a bold attempt when he writes a *Catechism for Parents and Teachers* (Messrs. Methuen). Some will be indignant that any one should attempt to produce a new catechism, but if they can overcome their indignation they will find the little book which bears this formidable title very instructive. Dr. Lodge is a scientist, and his is the view of a scientist whose sympathies are Christian. If we read him we get a first-hand idea of the channels in which runs the thought of those who are trained in the schools of physical science. Of course there are some people who endeavour to deny the discoveries of science. As Dr. Lodge well says, "they are setting themselves athwart the stream, and trying to stop its advance; they only succeed in stopping their own".

The book is an ambitious but interesting attempt "to formulate the fundamentals of religious faith in terms of Divine Immanence in such a way as to assimilate sufficiently all the results of existing knowledge, and still to be in harmony with the teachings of the poets and inspired writers of all ages".

The section dealing with the future life is particularly interesting. Dr. Lodge is of opinion that the fundamental idea which needs inculcation is the continuity of existence. We must discourage the idea which associates "a full measure of departed personality with the discarded and decomposing bodily remnant, —under the impression that it will awake and live again at some future day". Existence on earth indeed depends upon a particular arrangement of material particles belonging to the earth.

But even now in this life these particles are frequently changed and the old ones cast off, and no one would maintain that the identity of the person is impaired.

Some people have charged Mr. Campbell with teaching the doctrine of a Nirvana ; they say he implies that we shall lose our individuality by absorption into a larger whole. It is difficult to see how they ground their charge, and yet Mr. Campbell has not stated the case for the persistence of our individual personality with the explicitness that we find in Dr. Lodge. "There must be conservation of character ; notwithstanding the admitted return of the individual to a central store or larger self, from which a portion was differentiated and individualised for the brief period during which the planet performs some seventy of its innumerable journeys round the sun. Absorption in original source may mask, but need not destroy, identity. . . . The character and experience gained by us during our brief association with the matter of this planet, become our possession henceforth for ever."

Inspiration.

Mr. Campbell mentions Archdeacon Wilberforce as one of the most prominent of that band of men in the Church of England who base their preaching upon the assurance that "the Word of God is to be known from the fact that it illuminates life and appeals to the deepest and truest in the soul of man". Dr. Wilberforce has published a volume of sermons entitled *Sanctification by the Truth* (Mr. Elliot Stock). One of these deals with the appendix to the Lord's Prayer, which occurs in the Authorised Version of St. Matthew's Gospel, but is omitted from the text of the Revised Version. Dr. Wilberforce is not prepared to lose it, and declares that the fact that the oldest MSS. do not contain it does not necessarily touch the question of its inspiration. This leads him to discuss the question of inspiration. The exposition is by no means wholly satisfactory but it contains a profound truth.

He paves the way by emphasising the fact that one life, one love, one intelligence underlies all that is, and the further fact that

the Lord Jesus manifests a Divine Sonship which is the attribute of humanity as a whole. From this follows the universality of what we call inspiration. It follows also that the inspiration which comes to a man from without can only be apprehended by the inspiration which is within. Inspiration in short is "the stirring of the immanent Divine nature seeking to express God". It is a term which must not be limited to a book or a literature,

The Social Crisis.

The love of truth is a remarkable fact of human experience. From a love of truth men will attempt tasks which not only seem fruitless but which threaten distinct loss. Sometimes the tasks seem only to lead to negative results. Yet invariably they lead ultimately to positive good. An instance of this is the application of the historical method to the Bible. It at first seemed destined only to destroy, only to lay ruthless hands upon many cherished ideas. But now we are seeing its positive results. It is putting us in the position of the original readers and writers of the Bible, and by permitting us to see the sacred landscape through real not coloured spectacles it has let us loose into a new world.

One such achievement is to recall to us the attitude of our Lord and the writers of both Testaments with regard to social questions; a fact of special importance in view of the present social upheavals, and the urgency of the cry for social reform. Perhaps the very drift which is carrying men away from the organised forms of Christianity, and that drift is undeniable, is a simultaneous call to Christians to consider anew the social side of Christianity.

The Religious Value of the Community and the Individual.

Those who wish to plunge headlong into such a study should read Professor Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (Messrs. Macmillan). The author is an American and a Church historian, and his book is stamped with American directness and vigour. In his historical sections he labours to show that Christianity aimed essentially at transforming human society into

the Kingdom of God, by "regenerating all human relations and reconstituting them into that Kingdom".

The historical roots of Christianity are found in the Hebrew prophets. Amos, Hosea, Isaiah and the early prophets moulded the nation's religious progress, and with them Jesus felt most kinship. Devotion to moral righteousness was the passion which consumed them, and they expended their religious concern mainly and primarily upon the social and political life of their nation. The individual occupied little place in their preaching. It was only when the doom of the nation was struck that the religious concern in politics ceased, and the interest in individual religion began. This was mainly the work of Jeremiah, and it was of grand importance.

But it behoves us, as we seek to extract lessons for ourselves from the Hebrew history, seriously to consider whether we shall look upon the discovery of the religious value of the individual as the solely important feature in that history, to the neglect of the earlier and broader lesson of the religious value of the community. Probably the tendency in the past, not of our Lord as we purpose to show, but of Christianity subsequently to His day, has been to display a too marked concern for the well-being of the individual. Yet this need not and must not exclude the other. The concentration of the religious life in the individual in Hebrew history was, as Professor Rauschenbusch points out, "not a deliberate step of progress, freely taken, but was forced upon those men by dire necessity. . . . Personal religion was chiefly a means to an end ; the end was social."

The Social Aims of Jesus.

But granted that religion must not be withdrawn from the wider life, to which Old Testament programme shall we look for our inspiration? Shall we turn more eagerly to the wise historical insight and sane political programme of the great prophets, or to the "apocalyptic dreams and bookish calculations when the nation lost its political self-government and training"?

To answer this question decisively we need only turn and

consider the social aims of Jesus : the whole of His sympathy was with the great prophets of Israel, although He carried us infinitely beyond their farthest flight. Jesus was certainly more than a social reformer : He saw that man still had needs when all social questions were solved—"Needs for religious communion with God, the Father of our spirits". But we have mis-read Jesus if we try to uncouple the religious and the social life.

That Jesus was keenly interested in social reformation is seen from His relation to the Baptist, whose mission He is directly stated to have continued to its completion. The Baptist's mission was itself a revival of the social preaching of the classic prophets with a vigour long unheard. With John and the earlier prophets our Lord preached that the Kingdom of God was at hand, with them He held lightly to the ceremonial elements of religion and insisted on the ethical elements, and with them He sided with the poor and oppressed. He came to consummate rather than to initiate, and His consummation was more pronouncedly a consummation of the collective hopes of the prophets than of the religious individualism which had pushed their teaching into the background. So indeed Professor Rauschenbusch interprets our Lord's disavowal of much of the religious past of His people.

Of course much turns upon the vexed question of the meaning which our Lord attached to the phrase Kingdom of God. Certainly He modified the popular conception, freeing it from ideas of human violence and divine catastrophe, and declaring by the parable of the mustard seed that it would come slowly and in the nature of a growth. Yet He did not use the word without accepting the essential idea which it enshrined, and "His end was not the new soul, but the new society ; not man, but Man". Along these lines He widened the hope, making it human and universal.

The Middle Ages and Social Reform.

To what an extraordinary degree much of the Christian thought of the Middle Ages drifted away from this collective

conception of the Kingdom of God, involving as it does the whole social life of man, will at once be seen if we remember how much time was then spent in detaching men from the community, and from marriage and property and interest in political and social tasks. Of course such an attitude was largely necessary in the conditions of earlier days, but is it necessary now?

The social impetus seemed active at first in the Christian Church, and witness is borne to it in such literature as St. James's Epistle, but it soon died down in face of other problems and other difficulties. St. Paul was confronted with the Roman Empire, and if there was one thing the Roman Empire would not tolerate, it was any tampering with its social machinery. St. Paul's life would not have been worth a day's purchase if he had proclaimed any revolutionary social doctrine. He knew it and acted accordingly. He laid foundations and was silent upon subjects about which in another age he might have spoken. This probably accounts for the absence of marked social reformatory ideas from his epistles. But we are guilty of the profoundest mistake when we make his silence in one set of circumstances an excuse for our inactivity in an absolutely different set of circumstances. Speech was not free in his day: it is in ours. He lived under a hostile government: we profess to rule ourselves. And yet "we have turned the eagle-eyed Paul, one of the greatest champions of freedom and progress in all history, into a personified code of law and precedent that bids us ever remain where he stood".

THE HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.¹

REV. WALTER LOCK, Ireland Professor of Exegesis and Warden of Keble College, Oxford.

The Fourth Gospel possesses an eternal fascination for us, both as preachers and as students : if we are preachers, it draws us to itself whether we are trying to present the spiritual depths of religion to the most intellectual of our hearers, or whether we sit by the side of a simple cottager and wish to find a message of comfort in sorrow or of courage to face death : if we are students, we turn with ever new interest to the problems which it suggests : When was it written ? Who was its author ? What is its relation to the Synoptists ? What is its historical value ? A proof of this undying interest is to be seen in the fact that even in the last four years there have been published in England alone five works of very different aim and point of view, yet all making a real contribution to the problem of the Gospel and all needing to be taken into account. These are (1) Dr. Drummond, *The Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel* : Williams & Norgate, 1903—a most scholarlike and reverent examination of the evidence for the Johannine authorship ; (2) Dr. Sanday, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* : Clarendon Press, 1905—a complete account of the present state of critical opinion both in England and on the Continent, with an admirable statement of the principles on which such problems should be approached ; (3) Mr. Wilfrid Richmond, *The Gospel of the Rejection* : Murray, 1906—an independent and fresh comparison of the Johannine with the Synoptist narrative ; (4) Professor Burkitt, *The Gospel History and its Transmission* : T. & T. Clark, 1906—a most interesting and readable theory of the genesis of all four Gospels, but least adequate and satisfactory in its treatment of the Fourth ; and

¹ A paper read before Clerical Societies in December, 1906, and January, 1907.

(5) Dr. E. A. Abbott's *Silanus the Christian*: A. & C. Black, 1906—a charming romance, describing the steps by which a young Roman layman of the first century passes from the school of Epictetus to Christianity, in which three chapters (xxxi.-xxxiii.) describe the part played by the Fourth Gospel in this conversion.¹

Of these writers Dr. Drummond, Mr. Richmond and (less decisively) Dr. Sanday advocate the Johannine authorship; Professor Burkitt and Dr. Abbott decisively reject it. But Dr. Drummond's book—extraordinarily interesting as it was from the fact that it showed how a scholar, examining the evidence at first hand, came back to the Johannine authorship in spite of having been trained from his youth up in the opposite conclusion—yet threw the question of the authorship into a place of secondary importance, for he held that though the whole book is by an eye-witness, who is the loved disciple, John, the son of Zebedee, yet much of the contents are not historical facts, *e.g.*, the water never was literally turned into wine, the five thousand never were fed, Lazarus never was raised from the dead; these stories were all symbolical illustrations; thus the story of Lazarus was designed “to set forth in a vivid and picturesque form the truth that Jesus is the Resurrection and the Life and by His commanding spiritual authority raised the dead from the grave of moral corruption and released them from the stifling grasp of Pharisaic teaching” (p. 64). Hence the important question is not so much whether the author was St. John or another, as whether the book is a narrative of historical fact or a work of the creative imagination, whether it is to be ranked with Thucydides and Cæsar or with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and *John Inglesant*.

That is our problem. Before we approach it let us remind ourselves of the ultimate grounds upon which we believe the essential truth of the Gospel. These are not simply that the work is that of an eye-witness, for an eye-witness may certainly interpret wrongly and possibly see wrongly; rather they are

¹ Dr. Abbott's *Johannine Vocabulary* and *Johannine Grammar* also deal with details that have an important bearing on the general problem. There have also since appeared *The Fourth Gospel: its Purpose and Theology*, by E. F. Scott (T. & T. Clark), and *The Fourth Gospel and some Recent German Criticism*, by H. L. Jackson (The Cambridge Press).

two-fold—first, that the writer impresses us with real insight, with a real gift for the spiritual interpretation of the highest life; we feel, to use Dr. Drummond's admirable phrase, that the Gospel is "the utterance of one of those rare souls who speak with timeless voice to the permanent needs of man" (p. 23); secondly, that it comes to us authenticated, not only by the anonymous witnesses who added the definite authentication of ch. xxi. 24, "we know that his witness is true," but also by the acceptance of it by the Church, which, at whatever date it appeared, at once welcomed it and practically said: "This is a faithful presentation of what we believe our Master to have done and taught and been".

We believe then that the Gospel gives us a true portrait of Him whom it calls "our Lord and our God"; yet within that large scope of belief there is room for many varieties of opinion on the question of its literary character, and these varieties group themselves mainly under the two heads already mentioned. Either (a) the book is a record of historical incidents, resting on the evidence, at any rate in part, of the disciple whom Jesus loved, or (b) the book is a spiritual romance, illustrating the great lines of Christian teaching, as it had evolved itself in the course of the first century; exhibiting "the Christ of Experience rather than the Christ of History".

Let us expand each of these positions more fully.

(a) The book is essentially a history, a record of events that happened. Yes, but we do not claim for it that it is a complete history of all that happened, or that it is a biography of our Lord in any modern sense of the word. The writer himself tells us that it was an incomplete account of what fell within his own knowledge. "Many other signs did Jesus in the presence of His disciples which are not written in this book" (ch. xx. 30); and the most cursory examination of the book shows that this is so. It is true that it begins as though it were going to give a complete account at least of the ministry; the events of the first day, of the morrow, of the next morrow, of the next morrow, of the third day after, are detailed and dated; but this method is dropped at once; instead of it we have a succession of incidents, separated

from each other by the vague note of time, "after these things," sometimes with gaps of several months intervening, *e.g.*, between ch. vi. and ch. vii., and at times with even the division between scene and scene not clearly marked. We have a series of tableaux vivants, and, if they were being put upon the stage, where would the curtain be rung down upon the tableau that represented the feast of Tabernacles or rung up for the commencement of the feast of Dedication? Or, to vary the metaphor a little, the writer is like a lecturer, choosing a few incidents out of a wide subject and illustrating them with magic-lantern slides; the light is turned strongly on each incident, possibly the slides are not always put in in the exactly right order, but each scene is made as vivid and real as though a kinematoscope was being used; then the lecturer makes his comment and passes on to the next scene.

Again the writer tells us once more what his purpose was—and whatever other purposes we may legitimately read into the book, they must be rigidly kept in subordination to the writer's own express statement, which is that his purpose was not historical at all but spiritual: "these are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye may have life in His name". The writer is not a mere chronicler; he is not a mere history lecturer; but he is essentially a preacher appealing to facts of history; he shows how Jesus had given life that others may come to Him to gain life: his work is as much as the Epistle to the Hebrews a λόγος παρακλησέως, but whereas there the appeal is to argument, here it is to incident.

Further, the incidents and discourses which he selects are very significant as to his purpose. It seems to me that the main truths which he wishes to illustrate are these, that Christianity with its sacramental system is a reality, which had its roots in Judaism, but is different from Judaism, far greater than Judaism; it is universal, even though it was rejected by the Jews; and it is the work of an indwelling spirit, the spirit which causes Christ to dwell in Christians now, giving them Life. Hence it is that he so frequently draws the contrast between the Baptist and Jesus: it is Jesus not the Baptist who was the Christ; it is

Christian Baptism, not Jewish cleansing, nor even the Baptist's baptism with water, that gives admission into the Kingdom ; it is Christ alone who can give living water ; it is His flesh alone which is the life of the world ; it is a worship greater than Jewish or Samaritan worship which He will found ; it is He who will gather together all the children of God, and give His spirit to all. Hence, too, while he constantly points out the fulfilment of prophecy in Christ, he emphasises the way in which the Jews rejected Him and traces this rejection up to moral causes. If this interpretation of the Gospel is right, it is very interesting to notice how much alike it is to the problem before St. Paul in Romans ix.-xi. ; St. Paul is in that Epistle occupied with the assertion of the universality of the Gospel, but he is met, as no doubt he had often been met in argument with opponents, with the objection that the universal Gospel has been rejected by the very people to whom it had been first offered, and he, like St. John, traces this rejection to moral causes, to want of faith and ignorance of their own Scriptures. Mr. Richmond's book has brought out very well this aspect of the Gospel, that it shows how it was that Jesus came to be rejected in Judæa, while the Synoptists were concerned with showing how He came to be accepted in Galilee. Perhaps we might put the antithesis rather differently, that the Synoptists show how the disciples came to believe in Him as the Messiah and to hold to that belief in spite of His crucifixion ; St. John how they came to believe in Him as an Universal Saviour and to hold to that belief in spite of His rejection by the leaders of the people.

To return, however, to our Gospel. We have, lastly, to remember that it is confessedly the work of a writer, writing long after the events, looking back on them in the light of subsequent experience, adding his own comments upon them, depending on a memory which has to recall events forty or fifty years after they happened, yet events (be it remembered) which must have been often narrated and commented upon and possibly written down before ; consequently we do not pretend to be

able to distinguish with a clear, sharp line between narrative and comment, or to say positively at any particular point, "This is the Master's saying and not the disciple's".

The theory, then, that the Gospel is historical is not that it is a complete biography or even a complete account of the ministry; but that it is a selection of scenes, chosen by the writer with a very deliberate aim of a spiritual nature, recalled after many years, commented upon in the light of the experience of the writer and of two generations of Christians, yet always resting on real incidents, on events which are guaranteed by eye-witnesses.

(*b*) On the rival theory the book is a spiritual romance, the work of a seer, of a poet, of some writer—possibly John himself, possibly some later writer of the end of the first century, Jewish by birth, but in contact with Greek thought, acquainted perhaps with the teaching of Philo and of Epictetus—who, partly with the help of the Synoptists, partly having access to some reminiscences of the disciple whom Jesus loved, has written a story to illustrate the results of Christ's teaching, as it had worked out in the conflicts of the Church with Judaism and its contact with the Gentile world, and who, where his materials were inadequate, has invented incidents to illustrate these truths. Thus we are told "The Christ of the Fourth Gospel is not the Christ of History but the Christ of Christian Experience" (Burkitt, p. 230); such a writer "might conceivably throw some of his ideas into the form of an allegory and represent as spoken by Christ on earth what in reality His spirit had been saying to the world since He was hidden from the eyes of men" (Drummond, p. 32). "I cannot believe that any trick of memory could lead a man to believe that the raising of Lazarus had taken place, if nothing of the sort had really occurred. We are therefore thrown back on the hypothesis of *a deliberate construction of narrative as a pictorial embodiment of spiritual truth*" (*ib.*, p. 427). The Gospel is "a history interpreted through spiritual insight or poetic vision" (Abbott, p. 314), "a book that mingles words of the Lord with words of the evangelist, facts and visions, histories

and prophecies, metaphors that may be misunderstood and poems that may be taken as literal prose" (*ib.*, p. 321); or we may apply to it two descriptions applied by their authors to other things; it is "a fancy picture cast into an historical form" (Burkitt, p. 66); it is "morally truthful but historically untrue" (Abbott, p. 229). On this theory the water was never turned into wine, but the incident was invented to symbolise Christ's power to turn Judaism into something richer and better; the interview with the Samaritan woman never took place, but was a convenient way of teaching the spiritualising of true worship, and the universality of Christ's salvation including Samaritans as well as Jews, women as well as men; the Five Thousand never were fed, but the story illustrates Christ's power to satisfy the spiritual needs of masses. And in all this, there was on this theory no intention to deceive; these stories were on the same level as Nathan's story of the ewe lamb, or like the symbolic actions with which Jewish prophets were wont to illustrate their teaching.

Let us examine this second view first, reminding ourselves that it is held not only by extreme rationalistic critics, but by such a spiritual writer as Dr. Abbott and by so decided a Catholic as M. Loisy.

It is obvious that there are several points which may be urged in its favour. In the first place, there is no doubt that the spiritual truth underlying an incident is of more permanent value than the incident itself. It is more important to believe that Christ can now spiritually feed the masses of London or of India than that He once literally fed five thousand in Galilee; that He can give spiritual healing and life to sinners here and now than that He once raised to life a Jew in Bethany. This is the vital thing, and this this second theory claims to maintain.

Again, such a theory gets rid of a mass of difficulties which have encumbered commentators and historians; and these are not only difficulties which arise from the belief in miracles, but difficulties that fall within the ordinary range of history. The discrepancies with the Synoptist narrative, the difficulty of reconciling our Lord's preaching to the Samaritans in ch. iv. with the

absence of any trace of its effects in Acts viii., the mention of geographical names not known elsewhere, these difficulties will not arise if we can allow a free power of invention in the author. Thus Professor Burkitt regards the account of the raising of Lazarus as fatal to the historical character of the Gospel—not because it is miraculous, but because, had it really occurred, it was so important a link in the chain of events that led to our Lord's arrest that it could not have been omitted by the Synoptists. This criticism, indeed, attributes too great an importance to this miracle in the chain of events, for had it not occurred, were ch. xi. wholly absent from the Gospel, it is quite clear that the previous course of events would have culminated in our Lord's arrest and death; it also assumes a greater knowledge of the main purpose which guided the choice of the Synoptic narrative than we yet possess; still this will serve as a good example of the way in which real historical difficulties are felt on one theory and would disappear on the other.

Once more, it is a striking fact that while the Fourth Gospel seldom repeats what has appeared in the Synoptists, yet so many of the new incidents or of discourses resemble incidents or discourses in the Synoptists. They look like the same incidents, passed through the crucible of another mind, and reappearing in a new form. The cleansing of the Temple reappears at a different date; the abolition of the Temple worship is directly prophesied in the Synoptists, in the Fourth Gospel it is implied in the great saying to the Samaritan woman; the healing of the courtier's son (ch. iv.) has many points in common with that of the centurion's servant (St. Luke vii.); St. Peter's confession (ch. vi.) is like that before the Transfiguration, but the circumstances are different; the miraculous draught of fishes of St. John xxi. resembles that in St. Luke v. Other minor instances might be quoted, but these are enough. Here, again, there is little difficulty in explaining the facts on the "historical" theory; similar events must have recurred often in the Lord's ministry; yet the number of instances is striking and the rival theory is a possible explanation of them.

But, it must be asked, was such a literary method legitimate, was it recognised in such a way that it could be used with no intent to deceive? And I confess it seems to me impossible to rule out the possibility of this. If modern criticism of the Old Testament is to be trusted, then it would seem to have been the Jewish method to attribute to Moses all that had grown out of his legislation, to attribute to Solomon all the wisdom literature, to David all Jewish psalmody, and this would be analogous to attributing to Christ in His lifetime that which had been drawn out in history by His Spirit. If again the Book of Jonah was never meant to be literal history, but a symbolic narrative, we should have a close analogy to the story of the raising of Lazarus as a pictorial embodiment of spiritual truth. Further, when we pass outside the Canonical books, the Jewish Apocalypses are all thrown into the form of revelations made to the great men of the past, and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, an ethical treatise thrown into the form of Jacob's dying advice to his twelve sons, might be thought of as somewhat parallel to our Lord's guidance to His twelve apostles on the last night of His life. A writer of Jewish birth would then have literary precedents of the kind, and if he were in contact with classical thought he would find there treatises or letters attributed to great writers, representing what they would have thought in particular circumstances; while the Apocryphal Gospels and Acts of the next two centuries show how such a method developed in Christian soil. It is quite true that our Gospel differs from any of these in verisimilitude, in self-restraint, in dignity, and it is most strengthening to one's faith in the historical character of our Gospel to read side by side with it "The Acts of John," yet it may be perhaps a sufficient answer to this difference that their writers were inferior artists and our writer one of consummate literary tact.

All this may be urged on behalf of the "romance" theory, and at times the weight of it seems very strong. And yet—and yet! there is a great deal still to be pleaded on the other side; and first two considerations of a general kind.

1. One of the incidents which is treated as merely symbolic is the Feeding of the Five Thousand ; and indeed there is none that lends itself so easily to such a treatment, none for which an Old Testament scene, that in 2 Kings iv. 42, was so ready at hand to be applied to the new prophet and used to illustrate His spiritual teaching. But this particular incident was most certainly not invented by the writer of the Fourth Gospel ; it is a part of the earliest tradition of the Synoptist narrative ; we cannot, by literary analysis, get back to any narrative of the ministry which did not include it. Therefore, if this method of interpretation is true, it has to be applied equally to our earliest accounts of the Lord's work ; we shall have to admit that we are already in the region of poetical illustration and pictorial embodiment ; the traces of such symbolism are as clearly marked in the earliest Gospel (*cf.* St. Mark ii. 10, xi. 23, xv. 38) ; we cannot save the historical character of St. Mark by making jettison of St. John ; the accounts of the Birth and Resurrection of our Lord will lend themselves as readily to such a solvent as the turning of the water into wine and the resurrection of Lazarus. Our Lord would become an inspired spiritual Teacher, whose teaching, helped perhaps by special powers of healing, raised His disciples to a high level of spiritual understanding, which they, as soon as they tried to convey it to others, were obliged to represent in its material form. Is it not more likely that they, too, needed the material act, that they, whom the Gospels themselves represent as slow of understanding, were led by material acts of healing to believe in the forgiveness of sins, and by a literal feeding of the five thousand to believe in the possibility of their Master's teaching and life being adequate for the needs of the world ?

2. This general consideration is confirmed by another which grows out of the tone of the Fourth Gospel itself. The writer of it at least felt that the redemption which Christ brought extended to the material world as well as to the spiritual ; otherwise, why is such stress laid on the fact "all things were created by Him and apart from Him not even one thing was created" ? Otherwise, why the exact identification of the Word with a human life, "The

Word became flesh"? The preface leads us to expect to see the body healed and raised from death, it expects us to see material things enriched, amplified, extended under His touch ; and in the course of the narrative the notes of human weariness and human sorrow are pointed out ; so true is this, that Professor Burkitt holds, and probably with right, that one main object of the writer was to assert the reality of our Lord's human nature as against Docetic tendencies to deny it ; if so, how far more probable that he should have appealed to literal historic fact than drawn on the creations of a poetical imagination !

These general considerations throw our minds back upon the old view that we are dealing with historical incidents and there are many detailed points which confirm this view.

In the first place, there is no doubt that this is the *prima facie* view which any reader would adopt on taking up the Gospel for the first time. The whole is told with a uniform simplicity and naturalness ; and here and there the writer stops to call attention to the first-hand evidence which he has for his statements ; he has faith in and lays stress upon testimony. I assume also that, when the Gospel first appeared, it was at once treated as recording historic fact. The differences between it and the Synoptists were soon noted, but they were never explained on the theory that St. John's account was not intended to present actual facts.

Again, the relation to the Synoptists is on the whole in favour of its historicity. It is true that many difficulties will disappear on the other view, but others will remain. It is often forgotten, and it is the chief merit of Mr. Richmond's book to have reminded us, how difficult it is to make a rational and consistent history out of the Synoptists alone ; without the additions made by the Gospel, how abrupt and startling the commencement of the ministry would be ! how unexplained the immediate hostility in Galilee of scribes and Pharisees from Jerusalem, or again the allusions to a knowledge of Judæa, especially our Lord's wail over Jerusalem ! In almost every chapter St. John supplies some detail which makes the Synoptists more intelligible.

And where he disagrees from them, how bold the disagreement. The scene of the greater part of the ministry is changed, the day of the crucifixion is apparently different, the details of the appearances after the Resurrection are different ; this is more likely the work of one who knows and who is authoritative, and who therefore can venture boldly and without apology to add new scenes to the current tradition.

So, too, with regard to many of the incidents, how much they gain, if we feel that we are in the presence of fact. The allusions to John the Baptist can be explained and perhaps are to be explained by the continued existence in the writer's time of a group of disciples of the Baptist (*cf.* Acts xix. 3) whom it was necessary to refute ; but how real they are if they reflect the conflict in the writer's own mind, if he had been a disciple of the Baptist, if he himself had thought the Baptist was going to prove to be the Christ, if he had at first thought John's baptism sufficient, and then had heard John speak of a greater, had noticed the miracles of Jesus, and so had passed from the disciples of John to be a disciple of Jesus? Or again those first few days, how inexplicable on the theory of invention the dating of each ; but how natural if they were the first days in which the writer himself saw and was drawn to Jesus ; if they mark the stages by which there first grew in his heart the faith which he wished to communicate to his readers. (This point is well developed in the two illuminating sermons on the Gospel in Canon Scott Holland's *Creed and Character*). Or once more, those wonderful discourses of chs. xiii.-xvii., intelligible perhaps as a poet's creative picture of the Lord's legacy to His favoured circle, but surely almost beyond invention, almost surely the mark of one who was actually present, is the subtle change that passes over the atmosphere as the evening wears on, first the informal conversation, with question and answer, Peter, Thomas, Philip, Jude not Iscariot, all bearing their share ; then the soliloquy, the awed silence of all the disciples, no longer venturing to ask any questions ; finally the prayer uttered directly to the Father, scarcely

noticing their presence ("I pray for *them*," not "for *you*") as He is rapt away in communion with God.

There is another consideration of style which points in the same direction. I said earlier that narrative and comment are so mixed that it is not always easy to draw a line between that which is the Master's and that which is the disciple's; that is true, but it is equally true that as a rule the line can be drawn. The study of the prologue shows how rich a theological terminology was at the writer's command; the technical phrases "the Word," "grace," "fulness," are evidently commonplaces of Christian thought when he writes; yet none of these is ever put into our Lord's discourses; the writer is quite conscious of a difference in language between himself and Him whom he describes. And the thought thus suggested is confirmed if we take into account the first Epistle of St. John. Nearly all critics agree that this is by the same writer as our Gospel, and therefore the style and personality of its author are a factor in the problem; and here it is to be noticed both on the one hand that its author makes frequent appeal to the historic life of Jesus Christ (*cf.* i. 1-3, ii. 6, iii. 8, 16, 23, v. 6, 20), and yet his style and thought are more mystical, less in touch with concrete time and space, as though in the Gospel historic incidents restrained him and kept him closer to the realities of earth.

We are dealing then with the work of an author, who has a sense of the value of testimony, and who can discriminate between his own language and that of the Lord. Those who added the authentication of ch. xxi. 24, say that he was a disciple whom Jesus loved; if this were so, shall we place any limit to what the effect of that love might have been? "To love her is a liberal education," was said of a great lady of the eighteenth century; what must it have been to the understanding, to the insight, to the memory of a disciple to love and to be loved by such a Master? Such a character as that of our Lord could only reveal itself to sympathy; both the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel bear witness to the way in which all His power was frozen at its

source in face of unbelief ; hence there was always a selection for revelation : to them without in parables, but to the twelve the secrets of the kingdom : within the twelve, three worthy to see the most significant incidents ; it would be a natural climax to the process of supernatural selection if there were one, gifted with a responsive and receptive nature, to whom the whole heart was shown and who would have for ever after the key by which to explain the historic incident and the authentic sayings.

The living words
Of so great men as Lancelot and our king
Pass not from door to door and out again
But sit within the house.

So we may imagine that the words of the Lord had sat within the house of the loved disciple's memory ; they were living words which had affected his whole life. Nor need we ascribe the whole to memory ; it is probable that there were many early collections made of the Lord's sayings, and the Fourth Gospel may have behind it one such collection, even as St. Matthew and St. Luke have. Let me quote an analogy. A pupil of Emerson's, who at the age of one-and-twenty had heard him lecture, published his recollections of the lectures and lecturer twenty-four years after, and his own description of them is this : " There is little doubt that the production of his words preserves accuracy and faithfulness. At one-and-twenty the emotions are not encysted, and so little was containment possible that I found myself in the intervals of our meeting reviving their transports. I was delighted to discover that his language came back to me without loss or change. It seemed as if my pen was a reed through which breathed upon the paper his monologue with the physical impression of his accent, dress, gait and manner . . . so the boy's journals are a curiosity to the unreceptive man of forty-five . . . it was mainly because his speech was so wise and sincere and came from the depths of his own heart that it has sunken so deep into mine." And this writer himself goes on to draw the inference, " From some such habit of immediate revival may it

not have been that the contemporary Gospel writers were able to reproduce the words of Jesus".¹

With these words I leave my subject; for a final decision our whole attitude towards miracle will be of great weight, but there is a literary and historical problem, quite apart from miracle, and it is with that that I have been concerned: with a view to this paper I have read the Gospel through twice, first assuming the one theory and then the other. I have felt the strength of the "spiritual romance" theory, but the balance on the whole seems clearly to my mind to incline to the view that we are dealing with historical incidents. On that theory indeed difficulties remain, but they are the difficulties which arise from our necessary ignorance of the whole background of the life, difficulties which might be removed with fuller knowledge; on the romance theory there is the more serious difficulty that a writer who knows the value of testimony, who clearly is in many cases dealing with historical incidents, who has a high conception of Jesus as Light and Life and Truth, should weave in with the historical incidents invented narratives, with no indication of the difference between the two and in such a way as to have entirely misled his readers.

Yet if others cannot feel this confidence that they are in the presence of historic fact, still much remains, much that is spiritual, central and vital, much of essential truth that comes with the sanction of the Church. To one who was dying without faith and inquired for some book to help him, Bishop Creighton replied: "The only thing that I can recommend is the Gospel according to St. John. Read it and weigh it and consider the view of life which it contains." That advice I think we might wisely give, whichever of these two rival views we hold of the literary character of the book.

¹ Woodbury, *Talks with Emerson*, p. 7.

WALTER LOCK.

THE RISE OF A BELIEF IN A FUTURE LIFE IN ISRAEL.

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(Continued from page 256.)

II.

In the previous article we reached a point at which the conception of the responsibilities and rights of the individual first appear to have become clearly established. Yahwe's word, by the mouth of Ezekiel, is "Behold, all souls are mine: as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die" (xviii. 4). And the conclusion emphasises Jeremiah's conception of the new covenant, written upon the hearts of its individual recipients: "Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways, saith Yahwe-Elohim. Return ye, and turn yourselves from all your transgressions; so iniquity shall not be your ruin. Cast away from you all your transgressions, wherein ye have transgressed; and make you a new heart and a new spirit; for why will ye die, O house of Israel? For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith Yahwe-Elohim: Wherefore turn yourselves and live" (Ezek. xviii. 30-32).

Religious individualism, then, at this stage, involves that the individual stands in such a moral relationship to Yahwe that righteousness on his part must meet with its due reward, and iniquity with its due punishment. Still, however, the view of man's relationship to his God appears sharply limited by the span of this present life. There is as yet no conception of its continuity into the unknown future. Thus, in order that Yahwe's moral dealing with man may justify itself under this conception, it follows that in this life righteousness must be observed to meet with reward, and wickedness with punishment. This is a theory which, like others which we have noticed, has a rough and general approximation to truth. Society being constituted as it is, it usually happens under normal conditions that moral and

social rectitude meets with its recompense in this life. A life framed in accordance with God's moral laws is likely on the whole to be immune from the ills which attack the dissolute, and to be prolonged to old age, and commercial integrity and fair dealing between man and man most often in the long run command success. On the other hand, it happens normally that the sinner pays the penalty of his wickedness, it may be by disease and death brought on by a vicious career, by business-failure, or by punishment at the hands of the law.

It was impossible, however, that such a theory should for long escape challenge. Glaring exceptions to the established rule were always likely to occur. More especially would this be the case at such a period as the fall of the Judæan Monarchy, the Exile in Babylon, and the Restoration, when upright and pious men formed a minority, often despised and sometimes persecuted, when patriotic hopes kindled by the return from captivity were destined speedily to disappointment, and to the witness of "the day of small things" as against the expectations of a glorious future which had been kindled by the prophets. We find then that the problem of the undeserved suffering of the righteous and the unchecked prosperity of the wicked excited a large amount of speculation and religious difficulty at the period which we have now reached; and it was out of this soil that the idea of personal immortality appears to have arisen, at times as an aspiration or merely tentative solution of the anomalies of the present life, at times as a dearly prized conviction of individual hearts, but not yet as a definitely formulated dogma of religion.

We must now, therefore, proceed to consider the Hebrew literature which concerns itself with this subject, and endeavour to ascertain as precisely as we can what was in the mind of the writers and how far they were able to unravel to their own satisfaction the difficulties which presented themselves to their thought.

It is remarkable that Jeremiah, who, as we have noticed, was the first to formulate the conception of the relationship of the

individual to Yahwe and his judgment in accordance with his deserts, is also the first to be perplexed and troubled by the apparent breakdown of this theory as worked out in his experience. It is remarkable, I say, and yet scarcely to be wondered at; for Jeremiah is the most intensely human of all Old Testament writers. We find contending in him the alternations of confidence and despair: at one time he is filled with perfect joy in communion with God, at another with utter despondency and the very blackness of loneliness and desolation; at one time he is transformed by enthusiasm for his mission, at another cast down to the depths of its apparent futility, and pierced to the quick by the gibes and insults which it is his lot to bear. Thus the failure of his theory of religion, the apparent prosperity of the wicked in spite of his sin, presents itself to him as a painful anomaly. "Righteous art Thou, Yahwe," he exclaims, "when I plead with Thee: yet would I reason the cause with Thee: wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they at ease that deal very treacherously? Thou hast planted them, yea, they have taken root; they grow, yea, they bring forth fruit: Thou art near in their mouth, and far from their reins." All he can hope is that Yahwe will in the long run vindicate His righteousness. He continues, "But Thou, Yahwe, knowest me; Thou seest me and triest mine heart toward Thee: pull them out like sheep for the slaughter, and prepare them for the day of slaughter" (Jer., xii. 1-3).

But it is in the Psalms that the problem of suffering Righteousness repeatedly presents itself, in the mouths of poets speaking either for themselves as individuals, or as representatives of a class—the meek, or afflicted ones. In the large majority of cases no attempt is made at a solution of undeserved suffering; the psalm takes the form of a prayer addressed to Yahwe, not a treatise for the edification of suffering Israel. The conviction is often expressed that Yahwe will vindicate the cause of His servants in this life sooner or later, and will punish the cruelty and arrogance of the wicked.

If I had not trusted to behold the goodness of Yahwe in
the land of the living!—

exclaims one psalmist (xxvii. 13) breaking off in an aposiopesis, which our English Version with a correct approximation to the sense of the suppressed apodosis, though with some weakening of the force of the original, supplies by insertion of the words "I should utterly have fainted".

For Thou hast delivered my soul from death,
says another,

That I may walk before God in the light of the living—(lvi. 13).
As for the wicked, the conviction is expressed that—

Thou, Yahwe, shalt bring them down to the hole of the pit;
The men of bloodshed and guile shall not live out half their days
—(Ps. lv. 23).

Two Psalms, xvi. and xvii., end by expression of the writers' trust in Yahwe in terms which have been thought to express conviction of a blessed future beyond the grave. Let us examine them. Psalm xvi. finishes with the words:—

I have set Yahwe before me continually,
Because He is at my right hand, I shall not be moved.
Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth;
My flesh also dwelleth in security.
For Thou wilt not abandon my soul to She'ol,
Thou wilt not suffer Thy godly one to see the pit.
Thou makest me to know the path of life,
Fulness of joys is in Thy presence,
In Thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

Now though the Prayer-book Version of these words suggests almost irresistibly a reference to the life beyond the grave, and though it is most fit that the words should be used by Christians in the fuller sense which further Revelation has secured for them, yet it must be concluded, on examination of the terms employed by the Psalmist, that it was not in his mind to formulate any definite belief as to a future life. The rendering of verse 9b in Prayer-book Version and Authorised Version, "My flesh also shall rest in hope," can scarcely fail to suggest a reference to the body lying in the grave in expectation of a future resurrection. Such an explanation is, however, impossible. The term in Hebrew which is rendered "My flesh," בָּשָׁרִי, is only employed

of the *living* body ; and the Psalmist is simply stating that, in his confidence in Yahwe's protection, he can live his life without fear of dangers which may assail him. Again, verse 10 must not be rendered, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in She'ol," but, as I have already given it, "Thou wilt not abandon my soul to She'ol," *i.e.*, Yahwe will rescue his life from the imminent danger of physical death to which it is exposed. We may compare Psalm xxx. 3, where the same idea is expressed :—

Yahwe, Thou hast brought up my soul from She'ol,
Thou hast kept me alive, that I should not go down to the pit.

I believe, however, that this Psalm, if it does not formulate any doctrine of immortality, at least strikes the keynote upon which the belief is based. "The path of life" which Yahwe makes known to His servant means life with God as distinct from mere earthly existence which man shares in common with the brute-creation. In face of all that this means to him, and in the bliss of the felt communion with his God, the poet seems, for the moment at least, to overlook the fact of death, and he is able to speak of the pleasures in Yahwe's right hand as enduring "for evermore".

The passage in Psalm xvii. which comes under consideration is the last verse :—

But as for me, in righteousness may I behold Thy face !
May I be satisfied, when I awake, with Thy likeness !

Here the interpretation turns on the sense which is attached to the expression "When I awake". It is natural for us, as Christians, to see in it an allusion to the awakening from death conceived as a sleep. But that such an idea was in the mind of the Psalmist is more than doubtful. More probably he is simply expressing the desire that morning by morning, as he awakes to the daily round, he may do so with a renewed sense of Yahwe's fatherly care. This is the sense which is supported by consideration of parallel passages. So we have Psalm iii. 5.

I laid me down and slept ;
I awakened ; for Yahwe sustaineth me.

And again, another poet says :—

How precious are Thy thoughts unto me, O God !
 How great is the sum of them !
 If I should count them, they are more in number than the sand :
When I awake, I am still with Thee—(Ps. cxxxix. 17, 18).

In the same way, Proverbs vi. 22, in speaking of the value of a parent's teaching, remarks :—

When thou walkest, it shall lead thee ;
 When thou liest down, it shall watch over thee ;
 And *when thou awakest*, it shall talk with thee.

We may conclude, therefore, that it is too precarious to read any hope of immortality into the words "When I awake" in Psalm xvii. 17.

There are certain Psalms which definitely set themselves to unravel the problem of the suffering of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked. These we must examine.

In Psalm xxxvii. the poet takes his stand upon the contention that the moral anomaly presented by the problem is merely temporary. In the long run wickedness will be punished and righteousness rewarded. The opening stanzas of the Psalm strike the keynote of the theme which is developed throughout :—

Fret not thyself because of the ungodly,
 Neither be thou envious of the workers of iniquity ;
 For they shall soon be mown down like the grass,
 And like the green herbage shall they fade.
 Trust in Yahwe, and do good,
 Dwell in the land and follow after faithfulness ;
 So shalt thou delight thyself in Yahwe,
 And He shall grant thee the petitions of thy heart.
 Commit thy way unto Yahwe ;
 And trust in Him, and He shall act.
 And He shall bring forth as the light thy righteousness,
 And thy just right as the noonday.

In fact, the writer is so thoroughly convinced that the problem meets with its adequate solution in this life that he makes no exceptions to the rule of retributive justice. His experience, briefly stated, is :—

I have been young and now am old,
 Yet saw I never the righteous forsaken nor his seed begging bread.

On the other hand :—

I have seen the wicked like a terrible one,
And putting forth his strength like a spreading cedar.
But I passed by and lo, he was not ;
When I sought him, he could not be found.

The conclusion is :—

Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright,
For there is a posterity to the man of peace.
But transgressors shall be destroyed together ;
The posterity of the wicked shall be cut off.

As we read the Psalm, we cannot help feeling that, when we have paid full tribute to the writer's strong religious faith, yet he must have been a man of extraordinary optimism or have been placed in such a situation that he did not fully realise the anomalies of the present. In any case, the iron does not seem to have entered into his soul as it did into the souls of certain other psalmists ; consequently we look in vain for any hint that the unseen future beyond the grave may offer a solution which this earthly stage taken by itself is unable to afford.

We pass on to Psalm xlix., where the writer develops the same theme. His language and outlook are modelled upon that of the so-called "Wisdom" literature of Israel, and present many parallels to the Books of Proverbs and Job. At the outset he abandons the national standpoint, and proclaims himself a citizen of the world. His message is a philosophy of life which has universal application, and so he addresses it to humanity at large :—

O hear ye this, all ye peoples ;
Give ear, all ye that dwell in the fleeting age ;
Both sons of mean man and sons of high man ;
Rich and poor together.

He then propounds his "problem" or "enigma"—the prosperity of the worldly wicked :—

They that trust in their wealth,
And boast themselves of the multitude of their riches.

The point which he emphasises is that all this earthly prosperity is sharply terminated by death, and that at this crisis it can avail a man nothing for the ransom of his life. However wide his acres may be, and however arrogantly he may give his name to his estate, under the fond impression that it will belong to his

posterity for ever, yet he himself can look forward to an estate no wider than the grave, and to the cheerless prospect of She'ol :—

But surely¹ no man can ransom himself,
Or give to God the price of his life—
For the ransom of their life is too costly,
And one must let that alone for ever—
That he should live on for ever,
And not see the pit.
For he seeth that wise men die,
Together the self-confident and brutish perish,
And leave their wealth for others.
Their graves² are their houses for ever,
Their habitations to all generations,
Even of them that called estates after their own names.
For man in honour hath no abiding ;
He is like the beasts which perish.

In continuance, the lot of the wicked is contrasted with that of the righteous, in language which is somewhat obscure in detail, but of which the general drift seems to be clear :—

This is the fate of them that have self-confidence,
And of those who following them approve their speech.
Like a flock they are placed (ready) for She'ol ;
Death is their shepherd ;
And the upright have dominion over them in the morning ;
And their form must She'ol consume, that there be no habitation for it.
But surely God will ransom my life from the hand of She'ol ;
For He will take me.

Here again the question arises whether the Psalmist is expressing his conviction of a blessed immortality for the righteous, or whether the final triumph of the righteous is conceived as taking place in this life and so tacitly limited to it. The majority of scholars take this latter view ; but personally, the more I examine this Psalm the more does the conviction force itself upon me that the writer has in view something more than the mere temporary recompense of the righteous during this earthly life. The interpretation turns largely upon the meaning which is given to the expression "In the morning," as describing the time at which the righteous are "to have dominion" over the wicked, *i.e.*, to witness the vindication of their righteous-

¹ אִם for אִיךָ ² קברם for קברם

ness. The expression is thought by many to have merely temporal reference to the dawning of happier times for the upright after the destruction of the wicked as described in Malachi iv. 1-3 : " Behold, the day cometh, it burneth as a furnace, and all the proud, and all that work wickedness shall be stubble : and the day that cometh shall burn them up, saith Yahwe of hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch. But unto you that fear My name shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing on His wings ; and ye shall go forth and gambol as calves of the stall. And ye shall tread down the wicked ; for they shall be ashes under the soles of your feet in the day that I do make, saith Yahwe of hosts."

Against this view, it seems to me that nowhere in the Psalm does the writer predict any sudden and overwhelming calamity as impending upon the wicked. Throughout, the point which he emphasises is that, however prosperous his life may be, yet death is bound to end all. Death is conceived as the inevitable which cannot be bought off with worldly riches ; but the idea of death falling as a sudden and unexpected blow upon the ungodly is foreign to the whole conception ; since the writer sets himself to propound facts of human experience which must be obvious to all who will think about them, and the view that the worldly wicked are specially doomed to a sudden visitation of death in the form of a dire calamity is not one of these. The view of death as the inevitable issue of life, uninfluenced by riches and worldly position, is rounded off by the refrain of verse 12 :—

For man in honour hath no abiding ;
He is like the beasts which perish ;

and it is in the next section that the psalmist passes beyond experience, and expresses the conviction of faith as to the future in store for the righteous. If, then, the wicked are to meet their retribution by no sudden blow, but simply by death as the end of all their pomp and circumstance, then it seems that the prediction of something different in store for the righteous *must* contain more than the expectation of their vindication in this life only. The striking definiteness of the expression " In the

morning" almost inevitably suggests to us a reference to the Resurrection-morning; though, in our ignorance of the date of the Psalm and the background of belief which the writer had behind him, we can affirm nothing definite with regard to it. In verse 15 the statement—

God shall ransom my soul from the band of She'ol,
For He *shall take me*,

recalls to mind the account of Enoch's translation: "He was not, *for God took him*," the same Hebrew verb being used in each case. If, as seems very probable, the psalmist is choosing his words with reference to this narrative, then the conclusion follows almost necessarily that he is looking forward to a deliverance from She'ol which is more than temporary and to a future which may be compared to the lot of the patriarch.

It was this same question of the prosperity of the wicked and the suffering of the righteous which exercised the mind of the writer of Psalm lxxiii., and at one time seemed likely to prove fatal to his belief in God's good Providence. The poet tells us first of all how critical was the position of his faith for the time being:—

But as for me, my feet were almost gone;
My steps had well-nigh slipped.
For I was envious of the arrogant,
When I saw the prosperity of the wicked.

And then he goes on to set forth in some detail the position of these unrighteous men. To his imagination they seem to escape all the ills of life and to enjoy its good things, while all the time they laugh God to scorn. Bitterly in conclusion he contrasts their position with his own:—

Behold these men are ungodly,
And secure for ever, they have won great substance.
Surely in vain have I cleansed my heart,
And washed my hands in innocency;
And yet I was plagued all the day,
And my rebuke came every morning.

But even in his misery it comes upon him that this is not the attitude which a member of the true Israel ought to adopt. Such

hopeless abandonment is in fact a denial of his belief, a proving false to the cause of which he stands as the representative :—

If I had said, I will speak thus,
I should have been a traitor to the generation of Thy children.

Therefore, when faith seems weakest, he determines to make the severest trial of faith. He takes his difficulty into the sanctuary of God, the place which was regarded as the seat of God's earthly government, the House of prayer in which devout men were wont to see Yahwe's power and glory, and so the right spot to seek enlightenment at such a spiritual crisis. And it is here that a solution offers itself to his mind, and he meets with perfect satisfaction :—

And I kept thinking how to understand this ;
It was vain labour in my eyes :
Until I went into the sanctuary of God,
And gave heed unto their latter end.

The explanation which suggests itself to the psalmist and satisfies his mind is not unlike that which we have seen to be put forward by the author of Psalm xxxvii. The prosperity of the wicked is, after all, more apparent than real. There is a Nemesis which is waiting in their path. Even while they stretch out their eager hands to gather life's flowers, the solid rock gives way beneath their feet, and they go down quick into the abyss :—

Surely in slippery places dost Thou set them,
Thou castest them down into ruins ;
How are they become a desolation in a moment,
Swept off, consumed by terrors !
As a dream, when one has awakened,
So Lord, when Thou arousest Thyself, Thou shalt despise their semblance.
O, that my heart should be embittered,
And that I should be pierced in my reins !
I indeed was brutish and ignorant,
I was like a beast before Thee.

The solution cannot be said to be final and altogether satisfactory. It represented a small advance in thought upon the old opinion ; but was in fact merely a partial and fragmentary contribution to the truth, and was destined soon to be merged in a larger view of God's dealings with men.

But this solution is not the psalmist's real gain during his visit to the sanctuary. We find it rather in the conviction which seizes him of the great reality of his communion with God ; a conviction which calls forth from him such a confession of trust in God as forms perhaps the highest venture of faith contained in the pages of the Old Testament :—

Nevertheless, I am continually with Thee,
 Thou hast holden my right hand.
 According to Thy purpose wilt Thou lead me,
 And afterward wilt take me gloriously.
 Whom have I in heaven ?
 And, having Thee, there is naught that I desire upon earth ;
 Though my flesh and my heart should have wasted away,
 God would be the Rock of my heart and my portion for ever !

This passage, even more forcibly than the passage which we have already noticed in Psalm xvi. 11, illustrates the position from which the doctrine of personal immortality is really developed, *viz.*, a strength of conviction of the reality of personal union with God, under which the thought of death as it were fades into the background and is ignored, the psalmist feeling that he possesses all that he needs, and that, in any event, he is entirely in the hands and under the special care of his God. Whether the psalmist is definitely formulating his belief in a future life has been doubted ; but at any rate in the statement of verse 24^b, "and afterward wilt take me with glory," the expression "afterward" seems to be contrasted with what goes before—God's support and guidance during this present life—and again we notice the expression "*wilt take me*," which, as in Psalm xlix. 15, recalls the story of Enoch—"he was not, for God took him".

Thus we conclude our examination of the Psalms. We have seen that they contain little or nothing which takes the shape of definitely formulated belief in a life beyond the grave, in which the anomalies of the present life will be explained and set right ; but, on the other hand, they illustrate—and that more forcibly than any other portion of the Old Testament—the height to which faith was capable of rising under the sense of

communion with its God, and so they provide the fruitful soil out of which the doctrine of a personal immortality in the enjoyment of the society of God was bound sooner or later to be developed.

By far the most detailed study of the problem of the suffering of the righteous is found in the Book of Job, probably a product of the age of the Exile, or a little later. Here we find the subject treated in dramatic form, the current views as to the meaning of prosperity and adversity criticised and shown to be inadequate, and attempt made to set forward, if not a definite solution, at any rate a wider view as to the range of God's providence which may help towards a solution.

In the Book of Job, Job represents the typical righteous man, "perfect and upright, one that feared God and eschewed evil". In the midst of a life of well-deserved prosperity he is suddenly overtaken by a series of extraordinary misfortunes, blow following upon blow. His three friends, who come to interview him and condole with him, represent the old standpoint that suffering, especially when so sudden and calamitous as that which has overtaken Job, must be due to sin; and the best advice which they can offer the sufferer is to press home upon him this doctrine, to urge him to examine himself in order to discover the flagrant act of sin which has brought down upon him the hand of Yahwe with such unexampled heaviness, and to make confession and reparation of his sin. Conscious of his integrity, as regards the commission of any heinous sin, Job indignantly repudiates the charge so unjustly levelled against him. The subject is discussed in all its aspects in three cycles of speeches, in which the friends propound their arguments and Job replies. In the third cycle, the speech of Bildad the Shuhite (ch. xxv.) is extremely short, and Zophar the Naamathite fails to speak at all; an arrangement which is perhaps intended to suggest that the friends have exhausted their arguments. The section chapters xxxii.-xxxvii., in which a fourth speaker, Elihu, not mentioned in the prologue and epilogue, comes forward, is probably a later addition to the book. The section

is of inferior literary style, and its insertion is detrimental to the plan of the book, in part through its repetition of the arguments of Eliphaz as to the disciplinary value of suffering, in part through anticipation of the teaching of Yahwe as to the Divine greatness. The true continuation of chapter xxxi. is found in chapter xxxviii. where Yahwe answers Job out of the whirlwind. This contains the writer's main solution of the problem with which he is dealing. The greatness of God, as witnessed by inanimate and animate nature, is beyond man's comprehension. God's resources are infinite; nothing is hid from Him, nor can be conceived as lying outside His power. It is therefore presumption on man's part to question the justice of God's rule of the world in His dealings with mankind, even though these dealings are mysterious and pass his understanding. Further points which the writer makes clear by his whole conception of Job as a righteous man who, though nearly falling under the weight of his trials, does notwithstanding maintain finally his belief in God's providence and goodness, are that there are such things as disinterested piety and undeserved sufferings. The manner in which Job, after denying the justice of God's dealings under the keen stress of his calamity, does in the end bow his head beneath the revelation of the Divine greatness and wisdom, and retract his arraignment of God's dealings with mankind, serves to emphasise the truth that suffering may be permitted by God, not as a punishment for sin, but as a discipline by means of which character is strengthened and refined.

It concerns us now to inquire whether the idea of a future life enters at all within the view of the writer as a sphere in which the moral difficulties of the present life may find their solution.

In the main, the writer is still trammelled by the old conception of the dreary half-existence in She'ol and the hopelessness of its prospect. Certain passages which illustrate this have already been noticed in the first article. We may add chapter vii. 9, 10 :—

As the cloud is consumed and vanisheth away,
So he that goeth down to She'ol shall come up no more.
He shall return no more to his house ;
Neither shall his place know him any more.

Especially blank and dreary is the outlook of xiv. 7-12 :—

For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will sprout again,
And that the shoot thereof will not cease.
Though the root thereof wax old in the earth,
And the stock thereof die in the ground ;
Yet through the scent of water it will bud,
And put forth branches like a plant.
But man dies, and lies prostrate,
He gives up the ghost, and where is he ?
The waters fail from the sea,
And the river is parched and dries up ;
So man lies down and rises not :
Till the heavens be no more, they shall not awake,
Nor be roused out of their sleep.

While such a view of the prospect after death holds its ground it is plain that the hope of a future life cannot be put forward as a solution of the writer's enigma. Yet there is a passage in which it is suggested, as it were tentatively, only to be immediately withdrawn as scarcely within the range of credibility. The passage is found in xiv. 13-15, the continuation of that last quoted, where Job is speaking and addressing Yahwe :—

Oh that thou wouldest hide me in She'ol,
That Thou wouldest keep me secret, until Thy wrath be past,
That Thou wouldest appoint me a set time and remember me !
If a man die, shall he live again ?
All the days of my warfare would I wait,
Till my relief should come.
Thou shouldest call, and I would answer Thee.
Thou wouldest have a desire to the work of Thy hands.

In verse xiv. the figure is that of a soldier at his post, looking to the time when he shall be relieved from his hard service. And in the following verse Job dwells longingly upon the joy with which, if it could indeed be anticipated, he would look forward to the sound of Yahwe's voice, calling him to a renewed state of fellowship with Him.

One more passage, and that, for our purpose, the most im-

portant in the book, remains to be noticed. It is the well-known passage, chapter xix. 25-27, which certainly embodies the hope of a future life in some sense, though perhaps not precisely as it is generally understood.

Job in his misery has appealed to his friends for pity ; but they are relentless (xix. 21, 22). They cannot abandon their principles, which compel them to regard Job as a sinner and unrepentant. Then the sufferer turns his mind to the generations yet to come, and expresses the desire that his passionate protestation of innocence might be indelibly graven in the rock, that all might read (verses 23, 24). But here his thoughts linger but for an instant : suddenly the conviction seizes him that there is One who must ultimately vindicate his innocence in the face of the world, and that of this vindication he shall in some way gain the comfortable assurance, in spite of the near impending dissolution of his earthly frame.

The passage may be best translated thus :—

But I—I know that my Vindicator liveth,
And in after time shall take His stand upon the dust ;
And after my skin, which has been thus struck off,
Even without my flesh shall I see God.
Whom I shall see for myself,
And my eyes shall behold, and not a stranger ;
—My reins are consumed within me !

Throughout this passage the Hebrew text is somewhat difficult ; but there is little reason to doubt that it stands substantially in its original form, except in the case of the line rendered—

And after my skin, which has been thus struck off,
where the language is so harsh and the abbreviation so concise that it is impossible to place any confidence in the text, though attempt at reconstruction has totally failed, and suggested emendations are not worthy of notice. The Hebrew means literally :—

And after my skin they have struck off—this.

The verb rendered “they have struck off” must be understood as an impersonal active in place of a passive, and the use of so

strong an expression, if original, must be taken to refer to the ravages which the disease—probably elephantiasis—has made upon the sufferer. The strange “this” at the end of the line can only be explained as used *deiktikos*. Job points to himself to illustrate the fact of which he is speaking. Hence, in accommodation to English idiom, we render “thus”. In the succeeding line the expression which I have rendered “without my flesh” is literally “*from*,” i.e. “*away from*” or “*apart from* my flesh”. The word rendered “Vindicator” is in Hebrew *Go’el*, properly a man’s nearest blood-relation, upon whom the obligation lay to avenge his death, *if* he had been unjustly slain. Job pictures God as such a *Go’el*, who will surely clear him of the imputation of guilt which has been unjustly fastened upon him. The rendering “Redeemer” is less suitable than “Vindicator,” as suggesting the idea of a Deliverer from the power of sin: a thought which is foreign and even antagonistic to the idea which is uppermost in the speaker’s mind. The last sentence, “My reins are consumed within me,” is an exclamation, as Job breaks off, dazed by the glorious vision which he has conjured up before his mind’s eye. The “reins” are in Hebrew poetry the seat of deep emotion.

This passage, then, is the highest venture of faith contained in the book of Job. The idea of a future life—using the expression in the sense of an existence after death *not* wholly removed from the presence of God—has been hinted at, as we have seen, earlier in the book, though to the writer it seemed beyond the reach of aspiration. Here it bursts into expression as a conviction—something, it is true, far below the Christian ideal, as the writer looks forward merely to a disembodied condition—“without my flesh,” and there is no hint that the vision of God is hoped for as a perpetuity, or indeed as anything more than a passing realisation of the vindication by God of the speaker’s integrity. Still, it was a great inspiration, a great venture of faith, and it forms a step upwards in the direction of the fuller light.

C. F. BURNEY.

ISRAEL AND GREECE.

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(Continued from p. 272.)

ARTICLE IV.

This last paper is on so important a subject that I fear it must necessarily receive inadequate treatment. Of all contradictions Israel and Greece seem at first sight the most pronounced. Duty and pleasure, the discipline of the soul and the training of the body, the religion of beauty and the religion of ethics, a stern and unbending monolatry and poetic polytheism—all these antitheses are involved when Jew and Greek stand side by side. Yet Judaism, whilst boasting that its wisdom had inspired Pythagoras and Plato, became the pupil of Hellas; and, through St. Paul, Greek-Judaism became the religion of the Western world. The two austere peoples of antiquity, the Roman of the West with his high conception of law, and the Jew of the East with his lofty idea of God, were joined together by the versatile genius of Greece, the appointed mediator between East and West. How Israel came under the influence of Greece, where the nation resisted, and where it succumbed to that potent spell—the rise of a new and splendid spirit of heroic self-sacrifice, of a literature inspired by fresh ideas, the breaking down of national isolation and the diffusion of Judaism in its Hellenised form throughout Europe, are each of them topics too vast individually for any single paper, and all I can hope to do is to show you the extent and the surpassing interest of the field we are about to enter.

ANCIENT GREECE AND ISRAEL.

To the ancient Israelites the Greeks were known as "Javanites". Javan is of course nothing but Ionian (*Ἰάων*), the

name by which the Greeks were called by the Egyptians, Assyrians, and even the Persians. The name is found even in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets. In Genesis x. 2-4 Javan is a son of Japheth and the father of Elishah (? Hellas), Tarshish, Kittim (Cyprus) and Rodanim (Rhodes). The people of Javan are spoken of in Isaiah lxvi. 19, "Javan and the Isles afar off"; Joel iii. 6, "the Grecians" (A.V. slave-dealers), and Zechariah ix. 13. In the great revolt against the Assyrians in the time of Hezekiah, Sennacherib says that a Greek *Javanu* was set over Ashdod by the insurgents, and as is being made more and more clear by modern investigation the part the Greeks played in Egypt, Palestine, etc., in early times is far more considerable than was formerly suspected. The Greek and Semitic religious ideas came into conflict in early days, and it seems certain that the Minotaur of Crete, who demanded the annual tributes of maidens and was slain by Theseus, was not a mere imagination but a very real evil—the Phœnician Moloch to whom children, as we read in the Bible, were passed through the fire.

THE CONQUESTS OF ALEXANDER.

But of Greek influence upon the early Hebrews there seems to be hardly a single trace, and indeed purely Greek thought may be said never to have come in touch with Hebraism. The influence of Greek in the East came through the Macedonians, who were not themselves pure Greeks, and spread owing to the conquests of Alexander the Greek in the kingdoms founded by his successors, notably the Seleucidæ in Asia and the Ptolemies in Egypt. This influence has been rightly termed Hellenistic rather than Hellenic, and has a character of its own distinct from that of the pure Greek type of thought and life.

Mr. Bevan in his *House of Seleucus* has shown us how dangerous it is to dogmatise on the subject of the *diaspora*, or dispersion of the Jews among the Greeks. If I recollect aright he sees no very plain evidence for it earlier than the Maccabean trouble, B.C. 169. Our sole authority for the opening relations between the Jews and Macedonians is Josephus, who relates the

visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem. If the evidence, however, for the famous interview is but slight there is a certain probability in the story. That Alexander should have heard of the strange little community around Jerusalem is only natural, that he should have visited the shrine of their mysterious god is what might be expected of all we know of him, whilst the frequent journeys of the Jews from Babylon to Jerusalem would make them invaluable allies to invaders of remote and unknown lands. The first reception of the Jewish subjects by their Macedonian masters was decidedly favourable. They recognised the value of a people who made excellent colonists ready to thrive in every land. Antiochus the Great is said to have planted 2,000 Mesopotamian Jewish families in Phrygia and Lydia, and we read of Ptolemy Lagos transferring 10,000 from Judæa to Egypt. Alexandria in A.D. 40, according to Philo's estimate, had 1,000,000 Jews under their own ethnarch, and some families had been there since the time of Alexander the Great. The rise of the famous house of the Tobiades shows how powerful an influence Jewish adventurers had in the court of the Ptolemies.

INEVITABLE ANTAGONISM.

But the antagonism between the Jews and Greeks was inevitable considering the difference of character and ideals of the two people: Greece meant inquiry, restlessness, progress; Judaism, loyalty to a past, and a belief in the particular destiny of Israel.

THE JEWS AND HELLENIC LIFE.

When the Jews of Jerusalem first came under the spell of Greek culture they were completely fascinated by it, and it may cause surprise to learn that those who were most ready to exchange Judaism for Hellenism were the priests. But when we consider who these priests were we are less disposed to wonder. The priesthood was at this time a highly privileged aristocracy. Their office was hereditary and not incompatible with the duties

of military or civil life. The great families of ancient Israel were reduced to insignificance, but the priestly pedigrees were jealously preserved. They were in fact the flower of the nation, and as its leaders were more in touch than the rest of the people with the outside world and more receptive of ideas. The rapid spread of Greek life in Palestine is shown by the rise of cities with Greek names in every part of the country. Along the coast there were Ptolemais, Strato's Tower, Apollonia, Anthedon—Antipatris lay a little way inland. In the north the ancient Laish or Dan became Paneas. East of the Jordan the country was studded with Greek towns, Dion Gerasa, Philadelphia, Callirhoë, Pella, etc. The chief attraction of Greek life to the Jew was its freedom and, strange to say, its devotion to athletics.

THE APOSTASY.

The second book of the Maccabees thus describes the apostasy: "But when Seleucus was deceased and Antiochus who was called Epiphanes succeeded to the kingdom, Jason the brother of Onias supplanted his brother in the high priesthood . . . (by purchase) and . . . he undertook (to pay a larger sum) if it might be allowed him through the king's authority to set up a Greek place of exercise and form a body of youths to be trained therein and to register the inhabitants of Jerusalem as citizens of Antioch. And when the king had given assent and he had gotten possession of the office, he forthwith brought over three of his own race to the Greek fashion. And setting aside the royal ordinances of special favour to the Jews, granted by means of John, the father of Eupolemus, who went on the embassy to the Romans for friendship and alliance, and seeking to overthrow the lawful modes of life he brought in new customs forbidden by the law, for he eagerly established a Greek place of exercise under the citadel itself, and caused the noblest of the young men to wear the Greek cap. And thus there was an extreme of Greek fashions and the advance of alien religion by reason of the exceeding profaneness of Jason, that ungodly

man and no high priest; so that the priests had no more any zeal for the services of the altar: but despising the sanctuary and neglecting the sacrifices, they hastened to enjoy that which was unlawfully provided in the palæstra . . . making no account of the honours of their fathers and thinking the glories of the Greeks best of all."

There is no charge here of apostasy in the form of idolatry, but simply in that of the adoption of Greek customs and dress. The great apostasy, persecution, rebellion and victory of Jewish principles came later, but the verses I have read show how these things were inevitable. The adoption of Hellenism, as a world-wide mode of life and thought rather than a religion, seemed to the Jews an abandonment of that particularism which they regarded as about the most important portion of their faith. In fact the result of the attempt to Hellenise Judæa was to drive the people into an extreme of fanaticism. From the time of Antiochus Epiphanes it was war to the knife with heathenism. Proselytism was enforced by the sword, the Edomites were given the alternative of circumcision or death. The Jews of high birth or with a reputation for sanctity are said to have refused to learn any language but their own, and thus we have the strange circumstance in Roman Palestine of the lower orders speaking two languages and their leaders only one. The implacable and almost truceless war of the Jewish people with the Gentiles is due to the attempted Hellenisation of Judæa by Antiochus. Nevertheless, we notice a feature peculiar also to modern Judaism in the tendency of Jews to assimilate their names to those of the people among whom they lived, Jason, Alcimus, Alexander, Alexandra, Herodes, Philip, Ptolemy (in Bartholomew), and a score of Greek names were assumed by Jews even in Palestine, just as in the present day Montague, Lyon, Mandeville and similar names are used by Hebrew families. All Jews, in fact, who lived in the world had to make a certain concession to the universal tendency towards its Hellenisation which went on for centuries.

JUDAISM AND PHILOSOPHY.

But the Hellenising spirit prevailed, not only in the adoption of dress, amusement, religious observance, but in the more important field of thought and speculation. The Jew became an apt pupil of the Greek philosopher. It was in Alexandria that Greek and Hebrew thought came together. There the Jew realised that which is so difficult even for us to understand, that another form of faith can attain to truths as important as those inculcated by their own. The Jews, like ourselves, had to reconcile this with the fact that their revelation came from God ; and they solved the difficulty by declaring that the philosophers of Greece had become acquainted with the teaching of Moses in Egypt, and all that was true in their philosophy was Mosaism in another dress.

From this there arose an extraordinary literature of forgery devised to show the close connection between the Jewish nation and Hellenic wisdom, the most bold and curious being the Oracles of the Sybils foretelling the future of the world and showing that Israel is the nation chosen of God. Thus was all that was most revered by Greece pressed into the service of bearing testimony to the people of God.

The Book of Wisdom is the result of an opposite tendency, namely, to make the most famous Jewish sage show familiarity with the philosophy current in Alexandria. The author is evidently an orthodox Jew, keenly opposed to the Epicurean tendencies of his age. Evidently apostasy to Hellenism was common, and the language reflects the scepticism of the age. In Wisdom the wicked say :—

Short and sorrowful is our life and there is no healing when a man cometh to his end, and none was ever known that returned from Hades. Because by mere chance were we born and hereafter we shall be as though we had never been. . . . Come therefore and let us enjoy the good things that are, and let us use creation with all our soul as youth's possession (ch. ii. 1-2, 6-7).

The praise of virtue and immortality is the theme of the early part of the book. The book is corruptible, the spirit incorruptible. Compare the description of Solomon's wisdom with

that in 1 Kings, and you will notice the Hellenic tendencies of the book before us.

For himself giveth me an unerring knowledge of the things that are: to know the constitution of the world and the operation of the elements, the beginning and end and middle of the times, the alternation of the solstices and the change of seasons, the circuits of years and the position of stars; the natures of living creatures and the ravings of wild beasts, the violences of winds and the thoughts of men, the diversities of plants and the virtues of roots, the things that are either secret or manifest I learned: for she that is the artificer of all things taught me, even Wisdom (Wis. vii. 16-22).

When we recollect that this was written in Alexandria, the city of the famous museum, the university of the world, the home of physical science and geometry, it is interesting to see what was actually the Jewish idea of universal knowledge in the days of the Ptolemies.

ALEXANDRIA AND THE GREEK BIBLE.

Alexandria was the capital of Hellenistic Judaism, and it was here that a step was taken that made it possible for the religion of Israel to become world-wide—the translation of the Hebrew Bible.

The story of how the Septuagint came into being is found in a letter by a certain Aristæas, professedly a courtier in close attendance on Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285 to 247). Demetrius Phaleræus, the royal librarian, had collected a vast number of volumes, and now suggested the advisability of a copy of the Jewish code of laws. An embassy was sent to Palestine, and Aristæas was one of those who went.

Aristæas (whose letter shows considerable skill in the use of court titles and contemporary allusions, but who is evidently a Jew and not a Greek as he pretends) suggested to Philadelphus that he should set free the Jewish slaves in Alexandria, and when he hears there are only 100,000 of these the king readily assents. He next orders Demetrius to write a letter to the Jewish high priest in which it is suggested that six learned men from each tribe should be sent to translate the Law. The letter was accompanied by magnificent presents, "gold and silver goblets which

reflected objects more brightly than mirrors," etc. At Jerusalem Aristeeas was most pleased with the lovely veil of the temple, which waved constantly owing to the draught from below ; the reverent silence of the priests, so complete that though 700 were present one would think no one were there. He was astonished at their immense strength. "The priests," he says, "who offer the actual sacrifice show such wonderful strength that they will take up the legs of a calf, weighing more than a talent apiece, one in each hand and throw them up to a considerable height without ever failing to catch them again. They will perform the same feat with the legs of sheep and goats also, though they are often wonderfully heavy and fat, for the rites just mentioned are performed with victims carefully selected for being fat and without blemish."

Of course the requests of the embassy were granted, and a copy of the law in golden letters on white skins (compare the careful directions for the preparation of synagogue rolls) was sent to Alexandria in charge of twelve elders.

The elders had constant interviews with Philadelphus, and completed their task on the Island of Pharos in seventy-two days. The Jews of Alexandria were assembled, and a solemn curse was pronounced on any one who should add or take from the work which was recognised as inspired. A feast was kept in honour of the occasion every year.

A few points are worthy of consideration, the first being that the Septuagint, as it is called from the seventy-two translators, was not, as the Christian fathers generally assume, the whole Bible, but the Books of the Law—in other words, the Pentateuch. In the second, though the translation is declared to be inspired, there is no hint of its miraculous origin as related by the fathers, notably by St. Epiphanius, who says that the translators were shut up like Chinese examinees in cells and that each produced an identical version. You may also observe that the high honour in which the event was held and the testimonies to the accuracy of the translation are proofs that the story is pre-Christian, for when the Jews found that Christians based their

arguments on the translation they soon began to detect its faults. It is also said that out of compliment to Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose son was named Lagus (hare), that animal—mentioned among the unclean beasts from which the Jews were bound to abstain—was called a hairy-foot (*δασύπους*).

It is scarcely possible to exaggerate the importance of the LXX. In the first place, it is centuries earlier than any other translations of Holy Scripture, none of the others being pre-Christian, whereas the Law at any rate was rendered into Greek early in the third century B.C. More interesting still is the fact that it represents a Hebrew text fully a thousand years more ancient than any other based on far more venerable MSS. ; since, owing to the Hebrew practice of destroying all mutilated Bibles, no Hebrew copy is more ancient than 900 to 1100 B.C., whereas there are MSS. of the LXX. going back to the fourth century. This is important owing to the fact that in many cases the LXX. is different from the Hebrew, not merely verbally but in order, arrangement and in long omissions or additions. As long as the controversy about the verbal inspiration of Scripture was raging, so long was the relative value of the LXX. and Hebrew or Massoretic version keenly disputed ; but now that we are able to regard the dispute with more calmness we are prepared on all sides to admit that, although a translation can never supply the place of a MS., there is much to be learned from the LXX. in regard to the earliest known text of the Bible. In its ancient readings and even more important divergencies than those of words have been preserved which passed out of knowledge before any of our Hebrew MSS. were made.

Still more important is the fact that the translation of the Bible into Greek gave to the Christian Church its Scriptures and its theological language. The Old Testament in the New is in the main the version of the LXX. Words innumerable received their Christian significance from the same source. For centuries, till St. Jerome boldly undertook to translate the ancient Scriptures from the original Hebrew, it was the basis of all translations. Many of the proofs of the most important doctrines of the Faith

were found in the LXX., often with complete and fatal disregard of the original. Where our Prayer-book Version of the Psalms differs from that of the Bible the reason can frequently be sought in the LXX.

But the fact that the translation was made at all is of the greatest significance. The Jews entered upon a fresh period of history when they allowed their law to be put into a Greek form. The language most alien in spirit to their own was used to give the revelation Israel had received a world-wide circulation, thereby showing a readiness to impart it to mankind. The Jews of Palestine fasted, those of Alexandria kept festival in memory of the event, and their difference of practice is significant.

PLATONISM AND JUDAISM.

We now come to an equally important part of our subject, the reception of Platonic teaching by schools of Jewish thought, and we have as the great mediator between Judaism and Hellas Philo of Alexandria.

He was born about fifteen years before our Lord and belonged to one of the chief Jewish families in Alexandria, his brother being entrusted with the entire Hebrew community by the Romans with the title of alabarch. Philo himself led a studious life, using all the opportunities which Alexandria with its museum and library afforded. He was well versed in Greek literature; but at the same time he was a convinced and consistent Jew. He was at Jerusalem shortly before the famous attempt of the mad Emperor Caligula to place his statue in the Temple, and he has left a record of the embassy to Rome of which he was a member. The *Legatio at Caium* is entertaining reading as showing the character of the emperor and the reception the Jewish delegates received.

Philo's teaching is remarkable for his attempt to apply the system of Plato to the Old Testament. This he did by the method of allegory, treating the sacred books of the Jews as the Greeks did their ancient legends and especially the works of Homer. And, indeed, this method was as applicable in the one

case as in the other. In both there is the story of a primitive people which was recognised as containing moral teaching of great value, precepts applicable for all time and a sublimity of thought greater than that of which ordinary men are capable. Such were the Homeric poems to the Greeks and the Bible to the Jews. But side by side with this was much that was to all seeming trivial, unimportant, unworthy of the sublimer parts of the work, and it was felt that this also must be misunderstood, unless it contained a deeper meaning than lay on the surface : and from this feeling arose the practice of allegorising.

I believe that the prevalent feeling of to-day is that allegory is an unfair attempt to extract a meaning out of a book which its author never intended it to bear. There is a fatal tendency in many people, especially when the critical powers have been highly developed at the expense of the imagination, to assume that every person is as commonplace as themselves, and that a writer's meaning must be the most obvious sense of his words, taken in a most literal sense. Allegory, however, or the recognition of profound truth underlying some apparently bald or trivial statement, is not by any means an unjustifiable method to apply to the Scriptures, and we owe more to it than we are perhaps ready to admit. As a rule, we remember some exaggerated endeavour to find a mystery in an obviously plain statement, and consider that it is quite sufficient to condemn the entire theory of the permissibility of allegorism. But in Philo, at any rate, we find allegorism reduced to a system by rule and method ; this mode of interpretation has been adopted in the New Testament and by all the early Christian teachers. Without it, moreover, it is not too much to say that the Old Testament would perhaps never have survived save as an obscure Jewish book. The Christian Church had to fight no ordinary battle to retain it as part of the sacred Scriptures. To men like Marcion it presented an insuperable and to others like Augustine an almost insuperable obstacle in the way of accepting Catholic Christianity. It was only by allegorism that the interest in the Old Testament was preserved. Men like St. Jerome who took an interest in

its linguistic, antiquarian and critical problems were few indeed. Its beauty as literature was very rarely perceived. What made men study it and pore over its pages was the belief that a deep meaning lay below the surface, and this nothing but the acceptance of the allegorical method could have effected. Hellenistic methods popularised the Old Testament.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE WORD.

The Logos and his relation to the Supreme God is to Christians the most important part of Philo's system. Though he was contemporary with our Lord, Philo may be said to be in a sense a pre-Christian Founder of Christian philosophy. Indeed, if I recollect aught, Renan says that one of the reasons why there is no record of any early foundation of an Alexandrian Church is because the Alexandrian Jews had a system so like Christianity as to satisfy those who would otherwise have been attracted into the Church. Philo's doctrine is, however, not that of St. John, and many theologians are of opinion that, despite its plausibility, the idea that St. John borrowed the notion of the Divine Word from Philo is not really tenable. The language is really more similar than the thought. Though Philo speaks of the Word as the Creator, as issuing from the Father, as First-born Son and Second God (*δεύτερος θεός*), nothing is further from his thought than a distinct person, or an Incarnate Word. When St. John says the word was in the beginning, etc., he uses language like Philo; but when he explains who this Word was he enters upon a totally different phase of thought. Not that Philo had not an extraordinary influence upon Christian theology—indeed he may be said to have been the first to give an impulse to that trend of thought which influenced the fathers of Alexandria within and also the Neo-Platonists without the Church. Philo in fact belongs to the old order, but he stands on the threshold of the new. The Christianity which made its way in the Roman Empire with such startling rapidity is capable of being defined as Hellenised Judaism. This Philo had done much to systematise and had

carried as far as it was possible to do without the important addition which made Christianity what it is—the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ.

PROSELYTISING ZEAL

We now reach a very important feature in the Hellenisation of Judaism, and this is the zeal manifested by the Jews of the first century of our era for proselytism. The Pharisees, says our Lord, “compass sea and land to make one proselyte”. The yearning of the Hebrews to make their religion world-wide was of slow growth, but it began comparatively early. The prophetic hope that the mountain of the Lord’s house would be established at Zion, and that all nations would flow to it, became more and more definite as it was realised with increasing clearness that Jehovah was the God of the whole earth. The idea that Israel was Jehovah’s only people must have seemed to many inconsistent with the confession that He was the judge of all the earth. Thus the greatest and best of the prophets saw Jehovah’s triumph, not in the subjugation of the nations, but in their voluntary acceptance of His law. The Jew would be sought out and honoured, men would catch hold of his skirt and offer to go with him “because they saw that Jehovah was with him”. But before the Hellenic movement extensive proselytism was almost inconceivable. It was not till the second century B.C., with the exception of Jezebel’s attempt to introduce the worship of Baal, that any sort of attempt to change a man’s religion was heard of. Antiochus Epiphanes, the first persecutor of the Church of Israel, inaugurated a new idea, and a century or so later the Hellenised Jew became a sort of missionary. He was zealous in trying to persuade others to share his religious privileges, and thus Judaism spread. Its purity of worship, its ideal of home life, its seriousness, had a great fascination, especially among women in all parts of the world. The influence of the proselytes is very marked in the Acts, they belonged to all classes, and soldiers, women and traders, whether openly or secretly, were worshippers of the God of Israel. But the greatest of all

the Hellenists was a Hebrew-speaking Jew brought up in the strictest sect of Pharisaism—St. Paul, whilst clinging to its Judaic element, Hellenised Christianity and made it a universal religion. I desire to dwell on but one aspect of the teaching of this great man; but it appears to me that it is one of the most remarkable instances of the influence of Greek thought upon his mind. It is the high importance which he attached to the *political* aspect of religion. True, he speaks of the kingdom of God, using the ancient Hebrew expression; but in his teaching the Church is not so much a kingdom as a State, a "*polis*". The Israelite community is a *πολίτεια*, and Christians belong to the true, the extended, the spiritualised state of Israel. His ideal of the Church is based on the Greek view of a city-state of which each member has his place and functions. In this way Catholicism, the idea of a world-wide State becoming the means of establishing the kingdom of God on earth, is the result of Hellenic notions modifying Hebrew conceptions. Judaism pure and simple could not have become universal without the Hellenic element. Even early Christianity, when it was exclusively Jewish, did not seem likely to make any real advance. Indeed it appeared at one time likely to fall completely under the guidance of the family of our Lord and to become a narrow sect of Hebrew pietists. The impulse which drove it into the world was Hellenic. With a Greek Bible, an earnest proselytising spirit and a desire to persuade men by appealing to their convictions, with Greek ideas of organisation and personal responsibility, Hellenised Judaism in the form of Christianity went forth to conquer the world. The Jewish community of Christians constantly lost their hold on the fate of the Church, which, if it drew its principles from Judaism, derived its activity from Greece.

The influence of Hellenism upon Judaism was both stimulating and disruptive. Other nationalities had their effect on moulding thought, but the effect of the appearance of Greek influence as a paramount power in the world was to alter men's lives. From the appearance of Alexander the Great to the rise

of the modern European nations, the tendency of the most advanced civilisation in Europe and Western Asia was anti-national. After the Macedonian conquest men tended to become Grecised; *καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἦν Ἑλληνὶς Συροφονίκισσα τῷ γένει* is St. Mark's description of one of the Canaanite inhabitants of ancient Palestine. Not being a Jew by religion she was a Hellene. And so the word Greek came to mean the heathen world outside the Church—Jewish or Christian. With the Roman conquests every one began to assume the name of Roman to describe their citizenship or country. The Greek assumed his rule over the realm of thought, the Roman over that of politics. Outside were barbarians, who, on becoming civilised, assumed the appellation of Greek or Roman. Thus it was that the strife between Judaism and Hellenism revealed the antagonism between the Church and the world. In the days of the Maccabees the Hellenisers held part of Jerusalem for almost a generation against the rigid worshippers of Jehovah, the God of the Jews. The sects were all representative of the grades between the pure Israelite and the Hellenised Jew. The bitter opposition to Herod was due to his attempt to make ancient Judaism conform to the civilisation and customs of his age. Judaism split into sections owing to the dissolvent influence of Hellenism. It was not merely a coincidence that the Jews of Alexandria kept festival in honour of the translation of the LXX., whilst their brethren in Judæa fasted because their Scriptures had been profaned. The strife between the Judaisers and the school of St. Paul which plays so important a part in the early Church is but a continuation of the ancient condition of affairs.

Hellenism may be said to stand to Judaism much in the same relation as modern ideas do to the Christianity of the present day. When it was realised that Hellenism meant the breaking down of particularism the pious Jew resisted its influence with all his might. He remained true to his ancient law, exceeding zealous for the traditions of his ancestors. He failed to recognise that Hellenism with all its undoubted evils contained a great substratum of truth, that its philosophy and its methods

of investigation were of the highest value, that it was able to explain much which had been hitherto obscure, and to bring out the real meaning of many things in the revelation vouchsafed to Israel. Above all, he failed to see the importance of its appeal to universal humanity. It was not the Judaism of no compromise, but Judaism impregnated with all that was best in Hellenism which transformed the world.

GREEK AND MODERN IDEAS.

The forces which operate in modern society are not altogether dissimilar to those which Greek ideas put into action in the ancient world. We are face to face with much which seems to be as incompatible with a mediævalised Christianity as ever Hellenism was to Hebraism. The question then as now is, Can we assimilate and at the same time conserve? There were three classes of Jews, the worldly, sometimes apostate, oftener enjoying all the privileges and honours of their religion and its priesthood, lax in life, suspicious of innovation, yet ready to enjoy all the good things of life; the rigidly orthodox, implacable and unbending, at times rendered almost heroic by their fanaticism and the courage it inspired. These two have left no fruits, like some rivers they have never reached the ocean, but their stream is dried up in the arid desert of formalism. Finally, there were those who were not ashamed of their convictions nor afraid to learn. These were the Philos and the Pauls, the pioneers of a new age whose work helped to mould the thought of humanity and whose lives inspired mankind. Every one in an age of change has to determine in which class he will be numbered.

It seems certain that in the days to come rabbinical Judaism and scholastic Christianity will alike be numbered among the things of the past. Is it too much to hope that both will give way to higher forms of belief which may in the end unite? Such a consummation is desired by some Jewish thinkers, and it is surely one in which Christians may share. I conclude, therefore, this series of articles with the words of one, I believe, of Jewish birth, who has made a special study of the life of our Lord.

"If this should prove true that time when it comes will find Jews and Christians at one with each other. The world knows that the Hebrew people surpassed all other ancient peoples in spiritual purpose and insight, in moral intention and perception, in the actual attainment of religious faith and holy living. The world also knows that Judaism has not lost this essential race characteristic, but in a measure achieves, and is capable of again fully achieving the historical greatness of the race in these highest aspects of life. But this greatness cannot be reached by a mere perpetuation of the ancient religion, conducted in isolation from the currents of modern life, and without adaptation to present religions and moral conditions and ideals. May it not be that modern Jews, when they have grasped the large world-view, have adjusted themselves to modern ways of thinking, have completed their historical and scientific investigations, and have possessed themselves of those treasures of faith which non-Jewish people have contributed to religion, may come to find in Jesus and His gospel that which the ancient Jews failed to find—a satisfying expression of their highest beliefs and aspirations, and a commanding ideal? 'He came unto His own, and they that were His own received Him not.' He was indeed a Jewish Christ, and it is not too much to expect that Jews will come to know Him as He is, and to receive Him with the deferred ardour of centuries. The present Reformed Judaism, in its view of Jesus and otherwise, is not final—it is one of the several stages through which Judaism is destined to pass on its way to the full recognition that 'grace and truth came by Jesus Christ'. With Paul we may say: 'If the casting away of them is the reconciling of the world, what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?'"¹

¹"The Modern Jewish View of Jesus," by Prof. Clyde W. Votaw, Ph.D., *The Biblical World*, vol. xxvi., No. 2, August, 1905.

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THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND ITS CONFESSION OF FAITH.

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The Church of Scotland has this year reached an important stage in the movement towards relaxation in doctrinal Subscription. At the recent General Assembly it was resolved to submit for the consideration of the Presbyteries of the Church a Formula of Subscription to the Confession in these words :—

“I hereby subscribe the Confession of Faith, the public and avowed Confession of this Church, approved by former General Assemblies as most agreeable to the Word of God, and ratified by Parliament in the year 1690, declaring that I believe the reformed faith therein set forth, to which I will adhere.”

The procedure is regulated by the fifth clause of the Churches (Scotland) Act, 1905. For some years before the passing of that Act the Church was engaged in discussing its legal relation to the Confession and also methods of relaxation of Subscription. It was known that the Church had no power to change one syllable of the Westminster Confession of Faith, which in 1690, by an Act of the Scottish Parliament, was ratified as “the public and avowed Confession of this Church, containing the sum and substance of the doctrine of the Reformed Churches”. It was also known that the Formula of Subscription was regulated by an Act of Parliament of 1693. In the troublous times of the Revolution Settlement the staunch Presbyterians with memories of their own hardships were not addicted to deeds of toleration ; and, probably for the purpose of enforcing strict conformity on Episcopalians, an Act was passed which required that no person should be admitted or continued as a minister of the Scottish Church, unless he subscribed the Confession and declared it to be the confession of his faith. The Act remained, however, long after the Episcopalians ceased to vex the Presbyterians ; and for more than two centuries it has compelled every minister to own the doctrine of the Confession as the true doctrine to which he will constantly adhere. In these last years, through the debates

in the General Assembly, the Church realised that it was bound to the Confession and the Formula, a theological inheritance and an ecclesiastical or political legacy from the seventeenth century. Neither through change of the doctrine of the Confession nor alteration of the terms of the Formula, made by the Church alone, could any measure of theological liberty be obtained. Had the Church of Scotland, on account of its State connection, no power to advance? The Free Church of Scotland, till the famous House of Lords' judgment in favour of the *Wee Frees*, thought that it enjoyed perfect liberty to cut and carve its doctrines, and so passed a series of declaratory Acts in reference to the Faith. Certain members of the Church of Scotland, not openly professing any zeal for the methods of the Free Church, suggested that the National Church should make a declaration that the Confession is to be interpreted by direct reference and appeal to the Bible as the supreme standard, and they pointed to the declaration regarding the doctrine of the Civil Magistrate made in 1647, when the Church adopted the Confession. At last, in the Assembly of 1903 the formal declaration was made "that the Confession of Faith is to be regarded as the infallible rule of Faith and Worship only in so far as it accords with Holy Scripture interpreted by the Holy Spirit".

In regard to the resolution of the Assembly there were many who thought that it had acted *ultra vires*, and that any hope of change lay in an appeal to Parliament. An appeal to Parliament meant the frank admission that the Church did not possess spiritual independence, and it involved the possibility of an agitation for disestablishment. "Go to parliament," one orator said, "and you come out a disestablished Church." Though the admission regarding spiritual independence was never openly and formally made, there remained the certainty that the Church had no power to modify the Confession and the Formula. It is true that in its living faith it had moved far away from certain doctrines as stated in the Confession, but none the less the Confession was the legalised expression of its faith. Safety, therefore, lay in an approach to Parliament for power to alter the Confession or modify the Formula, but no one was

prepared to submit a system of doctrine for discussion by our legislators. There was, consequently, no alternative to the demand for a change in the Formula. Fortunately in one sense for the Church of Scotland, troubles arose which led to parliamentary interference in the dispute between two of the Free Churches. The House of Lords gave a judgment against the United Free Church which, that justice might be done to it, required the aid of the State. But if the State helped a Free Church why should it not assist the National Church in its difficulty with its Formula? Events shaped themselves for the convenience of the National Church; and Parliament was asked to change the Act of 1693 so that ministers should be required to sign the Confession, not declaring it to be the confession of their faith, but declaring their faith in the sum and substance of the doctrine of the Reformed Churches therein contained, according to a Formula to be prescribed by the General Assembly. Parliament, bringing the Established and Free Churches within the scope of one Act, and thereby preventing a disestablishment agitation, gave the permission to frame a new Formula, and required the Church to obtain the consent not only of the General Assembly but also of a majority of the Presbyteries, before the new Formula could become a law. Under the powers conferred by Parliament the General Assembly has accordingly prepared a Formula and transmitted it for discussion to the Presbyteries. Should the proposed Formula be accepted by a majority of the Presbyteries it may pass into a law of the Church.

The inadequacy of the Westminster Confession of Faith to express the living faith of a Church of the present day is evident from the fact that it was prepared in the seventeenth century. It contains propositions which are not now believed. The statement, for example, is made that "The Old Testament in Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek, being immediately inspired by God, and by His singular care and providence kept pure in all ages, are therefore authentical". Scholars of course have something to say about the purity of the texts. The quarrel between science and religion is not loud in these days,

and there are few who would now declare that "it pleased God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, for the manifestation of the glory of His eternal power, wisdom and goodness, in the beginning, to create, or make of nothing, the world, and all things therein, whether visible or invisible, in the space of six days, and all very good". The making of the world out of nothing in six days is a hard fact to be accepted by an educated minister as a part of his faith. There is also the assertion, to take another example, that "the Pope of Rome . . . is that anti-christ, that man of sin, and son of perdition, that exalteth himself in the Church against Christ, and all that is called God". It does not require to be pointed out that even supposing the facts in this indictment are true, courtesy might suppress them or, at least, modify the words in which they are set forth.

Calvinism, as we know, is the system which dominates the Westminster Confession, and in the purely theological parts of the Confession there are expressions which now shock the religious sense. We are told that "by the decree of God, for the manifestation of His glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death". John Knox had found the truth of the doctrine of predestination, and he showed the surpassing value of that truth, when he declared "then onely is our salvation in assurance, when we fynd the cause of the same in the bosome and counsell of God". The Westminster divines, on the other hand, represented God as foreordaining some men and angels to everlasting death for the manifestation of His glory; and though explanations are offered by apologists, which are in cases merely fanciful, the fact remains that no thinker would now connect the manifestation of God's glory with His treatment of evildoers. The religious value of Calvinism lies in the truth expressed in Knox's words; and, as the trend of thought at the present is towards necessitarianism in the origin and being of things, the defenders of Calvinism are not likely to surrender it. There is no need, however, for Calvinists to attribute motives or feelings to God which are not involved as integral parts of their system, and which do not adequately explain what are alleged to be facts in the spiritual world; and men, therefore, who will

not readily part with Calvinism, are justified in their complaint against certain glaring expressions in the Westminster Confession.

It is possible to criticise a writing for what it does not contain as well as for what it does, and the Westminster Confession might be condemned as an altogether inadequate and imperfect representation of the Christian faith. It fails to emphasise, as the Gospels emphasise, the love of the Father manifested in His Only Begotten Son; and the ineffable grace and attractive power of that Son are not mirrored in it. The Confession, however, does not profess to be an exhaustive representation of Christianity, and in this respect is to be classed with all creeds, articles and confessions. It is not, therefore, to be condemned by him who signs it in respect of its failure to set forth in theological terms the Divine charm of the personality of Jesus, though he who signs may be painfully conscious of its barrenness. He has simply to do with what it contains and not with what it lacks; but since it makes assertions not now acceptable, and many things are needed in supplement, there ought to be a new Confession, it may be argued, to express the living faith of a great Church and to which honest subscription could be given. It is again to be noted that the Church of Scotland being a National Church is not free to make a new Confession without the mandate of Parliament. Any new Confession would require ratification by Parliament and also acceptance by the Church itself. The Lord Chancellor and the Lords who sat with him in deciding the appeal in the recent Free Church case were diverted in strange fashion into the unfamiliar paths of theology. Would these paths be more familiar to the men in the two Houses of Parliament who would have to decide the fate of the proposed new Confession? Religion through theological debates by untrained men might suffer shame; and, whatever may be the fate of the Church of Scotland and the Church of England in their alliance with the State, neither of them will ever take confession or articles to Parliament for approval prefaced by criticism. There may be cowardice, indeed, in not risking the disestablishment crusade which might be inaugurated by the demand for the State's ratification of a new Confession. The love of truth ought to be

supreme and should influence all ecclesiastical policies, and it may be argued that even disestablishment and disendowment ought not to hinder the construction of a new Confession to take the place of the existing one, which few can honestly subscribe. A heroic policy is generally attractive to quick-minded men; and there are some even in the National Church who prefer spiritual independence to alliance with the State. There are, it is true, men who would risk disestablishment for the sake of obtaining a new Confession; but it is not necessary, it may be shown, for the Church of Scotland at the present time to do more than construct a new Formula, in order that theological honesty may be preserved and freedom from galling fetters be attained.

A Formula determines the relation of the individual minister to the Confession, but does not modify in any way the substance of the Confession itself. It is to be observed that the proposed Formula speaks of the reformed faith, but makes no attempt to define it; and in this vagueness liberty lies. The objectionable propositions, to which attention has been called, will no longer demand acceptance, since it can be shown by an appeal to the Bible that they are not related to the substance of the Faith. In Scotland since the days of Professor Robertson Smith the Higher Criticism has been quietly and surely educating the people; and, though there is occasional clamour against the Higher Critics in obscure corners of the land, there has been a revolution in the thought of the people regarding the Bible. The text is no longer regarded with superstitious awe as Divinely constructed and therefore not to be corrected; and interpretations are not now revered merely for their age or source. There is, too, the belief that creedmakers may have made mistakes, and that from the Holy Scriptures themselves the truth of Christianity is to be learned. As a result of the change in religious thought the conception of the atonement, for example, as affecting a compromise between Divine justice and mercy, and the doctrine of eternal punishment, are no longer preached as if they were of the very substance or essence of Christianity; and men are not afraid to go to the Gospels, freeing themselves from theological systems, in order to reach the mind of Christ. The Church of Scotland, should the new Formula become law, will not and

could not bind men to such statements as "the Pope of Rome is antichrist, the man of sin, the son of perdition," seeing that those statements cannot be shown to be of the substance of the Faith. The Higher Criticism acting on theology and directing thought to the Bible itself has triumphed through showing that certain doctrinal statements, long accepted as truths, cannot be related to the teaching of Jesus. And it is easy to see that the Higher Criticism or scientific interpretation has its serious work to do in the future, since it must help the Church to determine what is the substance of the Faith. Fortunately there is no popular dread of an appeal to the Scriptures. On the contrary there is the very widespread belief that the truth can only be learned by such an appeal. With the Church as a living organisation, and not merely as the guardian of the Confession written by the dead hand of the seventeenth century, will lie the right to determine what is the Faith. There will be after all no novelty in the Church exercising that right. In appearance it has been fettered by the Confession ; but thought has not been stagnant, and men in these last years, at any rate, have not been judged by the Confession but by the Bible and by those truths of the Bible which have constituted the living Faith of the Church. Whatever the value of Confessions may be, if men assert finality they injure religion ; and though the Westminster document is by the Act of 1690 the epitome or expression of the beliefs which must be held in the Church of Scotland, it is manifest that thought has not been checked in its progress, and it is known that the State has never interfered with the freedom exercised by the Church. With the Church, then, will lie the right to determine what is the substance of the Faith ; and when it exercises the right, after the legalising of the Formula, it will be doing under statute what it has been doing freely, though without statute, in the past.

The effect of the new Formula, should it be approved by the majority of the Presbyteries, will be significant. Ministers who teach religion to the people will be freed from the apparent dishonesty of subscribing certain doctrines which they do not believe, but which they are legally required to believe. The dishonesty may not be real, since these doctrines may not belong

to the Faith as accepted by the Church ; but the appearance of evil will be swept away. And the Church itself will be not simply the guardian of the Confession, with the duty of silencing opponents of its doctrines or evicting its implacable enemies ; it will be by legal authority the interpreter of the Faith, the maker of a living theology. It will have, indeed, a difficult task, since it is not likely to frame declaratory Acts, and since its decisions can be stated only in connection with heresy cases. Its task, it may be, will be accomplished mainly through refusing to mark as heresies any beliefs which do not contradict the creed of Christendom. Whatever it may do or leave undone it will be conscious of itself as a living organisation entitled without question to determine its own beliefs within the domain of Christianity. The policy which has led to the demand for a new Formula rather than for a new Confession can only be justified by results. This, however, is to be argued, that a new Confession would not bring with it more liberty to the Church than is to be obtained through a new Formula. The Scottish Presbyterian has not yet forsaken Calvinism, and whatever objections he may urge against certain statements in the Confession he is not prepared to throw it away as worthless. He values it as an historical document which is not altogether out of harmony with the religion he professes, and which once was powerful to shape the religious thought of the land. But would a new Confession, could it be framed, give him the freedom of thought which he claims as his birthright and bring him more directly into touch with the truths which were spoken by Christ, and which constitute for him the eternal verities of religion ? There are those, of course, who think that a twentieth-century Confession could remove all difficulties, and that it ought to be framed. All expressions of truth, however, tend to grow old, and a work of the twentieth century, even as the seventeenth-century document, would not escape the calamity of age. In the seventeenth century, too, it is to be remembered, the Westminster Divines were dominated by Calvinism, and the work of construction was for them no supremely difficult task. The Presbyterians of to-day have not denied their Calvinism ; but they are no longer enamoured of theological systems, as no

system has yet offered a full explanation of the facts of the spiritual experience, and, in the judgment of many thinkers, a comprehensive Confession is simply a theological impossibility.

It is open to the advocates of a new Confession to urge that such a writing would help the Church to determine the substance of the Faith. The answer, however, could be given that liberty would be lost, and that the Church with a new Confession would be changed once more into a defender not of the Faith but of a stereotyped expression of the Faith. Liberty is hard to get, but the Church of Scotland is likely to get it through the Formula. The Confession will still remain the Confession of the Church, whatever the significance of that fact may be ; but individuals will be loyally attached to the substance of the Faith, of which the Confession in whole or in part is said to be an expression, and the Church's liberty will be realised in its determinations regarding the Faith. Not the Confession but Scripture as interpreted by modern thought, by the living thought of the day, will be the rule of the individual's belief. The Confession will remain for the Church of Scotland as its doctrinal system, since there is no demand as yet for the repeal of the Act of 1690 ; but so far as the individual minister is concerned the document might be blotted out. By the proposed Formula he will not be bound to the Confession but to the reformed faith set forth in it, and the essentials of that faith can only be determined in accordance with living thought.

The significance of the demand for the new Formula is not fully understood till it is seen that that demand means that the Church recognises that religious thought is progressive, and that theology must advance with thought. The doctrines woven into a system of theology are but expressions of religious ideas ; and as these ideas change or are modified, or are arranged in new significance, their systematic presentation must also vary. The Church of Scotland when it interprets the Faith will be able to point to the things which cannot be shaken, even while it admits that the presentation or setting forth of these very things must change to suit the needs and demands of living and progressive thought.

JOHN HERKLESS.

JUDAS ISCARIOT.

REV. W. A. COX, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge.

For nineteen centuries the name of Judas has been held in execration. Though borne by two apostles, it is never bestowed on any child at the font. It is chiefly used as the most insulting of taunts. "Judas" stands for the false friend, the disloyal adherent. Matthew Arnold speaks of "that furtive mien, that scowling eye".¹ Poor Cowper, on the verge of religious mania, sings of himself in those awful sapphics ("hatred and vengeance") as "damned below Judas, more abhorr'd than he was".² He is thought of as sinning and as condemned "beyond the infinite and boundless reach of mercy". Yet St. Brendan in the Irish legend, voyaging in midwinter over northern seas, espies a solitary form on an iceberg that floats by. It is the soul of Judas, in reward for one good deed done in the days of his apostleship, when he threw his cloak to a poor leper in the streets of Joppa, for one hour in the long year released from the torturing flame.³

In several places of the New Testament the agents in the Crucifixion are spoken of as acting in ignorance. "And now, brethren," says St. Peter, "I wot that through ignorance ye did it, as did also your rulers" (Acts iii. 17); St. Paul speaks of "the wisdom of God in a mystery," "which none of the princes of this world knew; for, had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory" (1 Cor. ii. 8); "Father, forgive them," pleads Jesus from the cross, "for they know not what they do" (St. Luke xxiii. 34). Is Judas alone, we may ask, beyond the scope of this prayer? Did he alone "know what he did"?

The notices of Judas in the New Testament are scanty, and so conflicting as to suggest that to the early Church, as to the

¹ "Saint Brandan."

² Thomas Wright, *Life of Cowper* (1902), p. 108.

³ See Wahlund, *Brendan's Seefahrt* (1900), pp. 83, 84; O'Donoghue, *Brendaniana* (1893), pp. 163, 164. In the legend, as there given, the release is "from vespers to vespers" every Sunday from Christmas to Epiphany and from Easter to Pentecost, also on the Feasts of the Purification and Assumption; and the cloak, though mentioned, counts for nothing. I have, however, followed the poet.

more thoughtful at this day, his character, motives and end were a problem.

In Acts i. 18, 19 we read that "this man purchased a field with the reward of iniquity". But he does not long enjoy his possession. On the field which he has bought he meets with a fatal accident. Not a word is here said of his repenting. But in St. Matthew's Gospel (xxvii. 3, 4, 5) we read: "Judas, when he saw that He (Jesus) was condemned, repented himself, and brought again the thirty pieces of silver to the chief priests and elders, saying, I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood. . . . And he cast down the pieces of silver in the temple, and departed, and went and hanged himself." In *this* account Judas neither spends nor keeps the money; he returns it promptly and in full, casting it from him as an unholy thing and with words of bitter self-reproach; his death is not by accident but is self-inflicted.

These two accounts cannot, by fair means, be harmonised.¹ But, if we look at the Revised Version, we see that verses 18, 19 of Acts i. are placed in a parenthesis. They *may* be a comment of the evangelist, or a marginal note by a scribe which has crept into the text; in neither case are they any part of St. Peter's speech.²

We return, then, to the account in St. Matthew's Gospel.

A great father of the Church in the third century, Origen, who always leans to the side of mercy, who holds that there is good in every man, that the will is free and no man wholly enslaved to sin, who conceived, moreover, that the honour of Jesus Himself³ was in a sense involved in the character and conduct of His least worthy apostle—Origen maintains that the repentance of Judas was deep and sincere.⁴

¹ See Alford's note on Acts i. 18, 19.

² Clearly, "in *their* proper tongue" can be no part of the speech, which must itself have been in that language. Further, it must be borne in mind that the speeches in the Acts, like those in other ancient historians, are reported with some freedom.

³ Celsus had urged against Jesus that "he was betrayed by the disciples whom he named" (*contra Celsum*, ii. 11).

⁴ Origen discusses Judas at some length in his Commentary on St. Matthew *ad loc.*, in that on St. John *Tom.* xxxii., and *contra Celsum* ii. 11. In the last of these passages he writes: "Mark how fervent, how vehement was the anguish of his repentance for his sin—he could no longer endure life".

When did Judas repent? Was it when the resurrection had restored the faith and revived the hopes of the disciples? Was it when they were "eating their meat with gladness of heart" (Acts ii. 46), "having favour with all the people" (*ib.* 47), when "such as were possessors of lands or houses" were selling them, bringing the money, and laying it "at the Apostles' feet" (Acts iv. 34-37)? By no means: it was at his Master's darkest hour, when His cause seemed lost: "when Judas saw that He was condemned, he repented himself".

Observe, reader, the courage, as well as the disinterestedness, of this repentance. When all the other disciples had forsaken Jesus and fled, when Peter had thrice denied Him before the maidservants of the high priest, Judas steps boldly into the presence of the chief priests and elders themselves with the words: "I have sinned in that I have betrayed the innocent blood".

Think, too, what these words meant on the lips of Judas and in the ears of the chief priests and elders. When Pilate said, "I find no fault in this man" (St. Luke xxiii. 4), when he washed his hands of the blood of "this just person" (St. Matt. xxvii. 24), he merely meant that Jesus was a harmless enthusiast who should have been dismissed with a light punishment. But when Judas, addressing the chief priests and elders, asserts the "innocence" of Jesus, he means something very different from what Pilate meant. Only a few hours earlier these same men had pronounced Jesus to be "guilty of death," as a false Messiah (St. Matt. xxvi. 66). To assert His "innocence" before them, therefore, was at once to tax them with unjust judgment and to proclaim Jesus the true Messiah.¹ He who had solemnly acknowledged himself to be the Christ (*ib.* v. 64) could not be "innocent" unless he were the Christ. Judas, then, was the first who ever "confessed Christ before men".

Of the suicide of Judas Origen speaks tenderly. St. Paul, he reminds us, entreats the Corinthians to "forgive and comfort"

¹ Bengel, I am aware, writes (on St. Matt. xxvii. 2): "in the darkness of his mind he does not own him as the Christ". My inference, however, seems the natural one.

a grievous but repentant sinner, "lest such a one be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow" (2 Cor. ii. 7).¹ To whom durst Judas go for forgiveness and comfort? "Swallowed up," then, "with overmuch sorrow," Satan gained a fresh advantage over him and drove him to his death. None may take his own life. None, however great his fall, should yield to self-despair. "Judas was lost," says Verlaine, "not because he betrayed Christ—no, not for that—but because he doubted of the infinite mercy of God".² Judas ought to have lived, continues Origen, and "have sought forgiveness of Him Who willeth not the death of a sinner"; he should have lived, and made the fullest reparation in his power.

Some fifty-six years ago, the Bâb, founder of a sect in Persia, was on his way to the place of execution, a faithful disciple on either hand. One of them, Seyd Houssein, overcome by insults and ill-treatment, fell fainting to the ground. Raised up, he was promised his life if he would renounce his master, instant liberty if he would spit upon him. He spat upon him, and was set free. The procession moved on. Awakening as from an evil dream, Seyd Houssein rushed to Teheran and sought out the heads of the party. So manifestly sincere was his repentance that he was received back. A furious persecution against the followers of the Bâb that broke out shortly afterwards gave him his opportunity. He suffered a cruel death with constancy and joy.³

Who knows but that the repentant Judas, had it been possible, had he deemed himself worthy, would gladly have suffered at the side of Jesus? May he, in his anguish, have thought, as Origen surmises, that, dying before his Master, he would meet Him, a bodiless spirit on the threshold of the spirit-world, and there entreat and obtain His pardon?⁴

Judas had been present at the Last Supper. He has been called "the first unworthy communicant," and is held up in the Communion Office of the Book of Common Prayer as a warning to all others. Yet the repentant Judas could say, from the heart,

¹ Commentary on St. Matthew.

² Quoted by Wahlund, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

³ Gobineau, *Les Religions et les Philosophies de l'Asie centrale*, pp. 268, 269.

⁴ Commentary on St. Matthew.

of his sin what we too often say, only with the lips, of ours, "the remembrance is grievous, the burden is intolerable".

But how is such a repentance conceivable, following so close upon a crime so dark, so deliberate and so base as that imputed to Judas?

Dean Farrar replies: "There is in a great crime an awfully illuminating power"; there is "an opening of the eyes that follows the consummation of an awful sin".¹ This observation holds good of sins committed in a moment of weakness—Simon Peter repents, Seyd Houssein repents; it holds of sins committed in blindness or in passions—Othello repents. But does it hold good of sins deliberately planned and committed? Macbeth and King Claudius of Denmark have their "compunctious visitings". So has Nero, after a mother's murder.² But they do not repent, they do not confess their guilt; the usurpers do not forthwith lay down the crowns they have guiltily won.

The true answer is suggested by the words of St. Matthew's Gospel, "*When Judas saw that He was condemned*, he repented himself". Judas, it is implied, had neither sought nor looked for the condemnation of Jesus.³ Yet what else can he have expected? If this was not his aim, what, we ask, was his aim, and what his motive?

Let us first ask, who and what was Judas himself? Judas was an apostle. Jesus called the Twelve after a night of prayer (St. Luke vi. 12, 13), "that they might be with Him and that He might send them forth to preach" (St. Mark iii. 14). Would Jesus, after this preparation, with this purpose in view, and with His insight into character, have called any one to be an apostle who was wholly unmeet to be an apostle, any one who had not noble qualities of mind and heart?⁴

¹ *Life of Christ*, chap. lix.

² Tacitus, *Ann.* xiv. 10: *perfecto demum scelere magnitudo ejus intellecta est* ("only when his crime was completed did he realise its enormity").

³ Jeremy Taylor, *Life of Christ*, says: "he thought not it would have gone so far".

⁴ Father Loisy, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 475, says: "St. Jerome admitted that Judas was good when he was chosen". The notion, there attributed to St. Augustine and Bede, that our Lord purposely chose an evil man, "that there might be one of His own disciples who should betray Him," seems generally abandoned.

We cannot think it.

True, in St. John xii. 6, we read, "Judas was a thief and bare the bag". This is strange! Would our Lord have chosen such a man, would He have entrusted him with the bag? If honest and good when called, could Judas so speedily have sunk so low? Neander saw here a "human error" of the evangelist;¹ Professor Cheyne sees an error in the text. For κλεπτῆς ἦν ("he was a thief"), he would read χάλεπος ἦν, "he was a severe man—and bare the bag".² From temperament, and as treasurer, he disliked the lavish outlay on precious ointment. Nor is it easily conceivable that money was the sole or the chief motive of the betrayal, or even that it entered at all into the motives of Judas.³ St. John himself does not hint at any such motive. The other evangelists say that money was given; but we need not take fact for motive. St. Luke says, "Satan entered into Judas" (xxii. 3); St. John says, "Satan put it into the heart of Judas to betray Him" (xiii. 2). But what was it in the heart of Judas to which Satan made his appeal? God alone "knows the hearts of all men" (Acts i. 24). The question, however, admits of an answer more consonant with the apostolical character and with the repentance of Judas, as St. Matthew relates it, than any other.

The office held by Judas, that of treasurer in the little society, and the qualities that fitted him for it, probably led him to dwell much on the ideas of an earthly kingdom for Jesus and a place of honour and advantage in it for himself. But all the Apostles cherished such hopes in a greater or less degree; "We have forsaken all and followed Thee," says St. Peter, "what shall we have therefore" (St. Matt. xix. 27)? The sons of Zebedee ask for places on the right hand and on the left in His Kingdom (St. Mark x. 37 and parallel). Even in Acts i. 6 the disciples ask, "Master, dost Thou at this time restore the Kingdom to Israel?" In regard to what lay before Him and the proper line of action for Him to pursue, they speak at times as if they thought

¹ *Leben Jesu* (1837), p. 573.

² See article "Judas" in *Encycl. Bibl.*

³ This motive is, indeed, dropped by most recent writers on the *Life of Christ*.

themselves wiser than He. When He spake of His approaching sufferings, "Be it far from Thee," exclaims St. Peter: "this shall not be unto Thee" (St. Matt. xvi. 22). John the Baptist, chafing (as it seems) with impatience, asks from his prison, "Art Thou he that should come, or do we look for another" (St. Matt. xi. 3)? Whether, for the realisation of these hopes, they looked to a popular rising or to supernatural intervention is not clear. The disappointment of these hopes did not destroy their faith, but it shook it. "We *trusted*," say the Emmaus disciples, "that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel" (St. Luke xxiv. 21).

Impatience, a sense of disappointment, doubt, perhaps (so mixed are human motives) a degree of resentment, but, before all, impatience—the impatience of the man of action—had long been growing in the mind of Judas. At length Jesus has entered Jerusalem, acclaimed by the multitudes as the son of David (St. Matt. xxi. 9). Yet still He delays to proclaim His kingdom. How if He were once placed in the hands of His enemies? Would not these hesitations be at an end? Would He not at last give His followers the signal, or call to His aid those "twelve legions of angels" of which He spoke (St. Matt. xxvi. 53)? If He were the Son of God, would not God "presently send" them?

Satan had tempted the Christ saying: "Cast Thyself down; He shall give His angels charge concerning Thee; in their hands they shall bear Thee up". This temptation was, we may conceive, addressed to our Lord's Messianic consciousness. He was the Messiah, but what sort of a Messiah would He be? when and how assert His Messiahship? Should He by some bold act, by some immediate and striking display of power, dazzle the eyes and take by storm the hearts and the allegiance of His countrymen? If He were the Son of God, He could do this; and it would be the shortest and surest way to the goal. If He could not do it—could He be the Son of God?

May not Satan in like manner have tempted the disciple? "Place thy Master in deadly peril; deliver Him into the hands of His enemies; and He must at last declare Himself 'the Son

of God with power'. If He be the Son of God, the angels, visibly or invisibly, will hasten to His succour."

This venture, or this experiment, was rash, presumptuous, impious. Judas "did evil that good might come"; he acted on the fatal maxim that "the end justifies the means". He put Jesus to the proof, and put God to the proof. Yet the awful and unforeseen issue of his act, the condemnation of Jesus, did not convert his faith, or harden his doubts, into unbelief. On the contrary, the image of his Lord revived and the spirit of a disciple flamed up in him: after all, Jesus was the Christ.

This view of the aim and motive of Judas rests, in a great measure, on the three verses of St. Matthew's Gospel which record his repentance and death. But is it not a maxim at once of charity and of sound criticism that, when much evil is recorded of a man, we should give special heed and credence to the good that is recorded of him? The best recent writers who reject this kinder view of Judas ignore, for the most part, or expressly reject the historicity of those verses.¹ But, for the honour of humanity, and for the greater honour of Jesus, we should cling to those verses. This view is no new one. It was held by Winer,² the New Testament grammarian; by Hase,³ the Church historian; and, in substance, by the great thinker and poet, Goethe.⁴

¹ Thus H. Ewald, *Geschichte Christus* (1867), p. 537, holds that "the story of the traitor's speedy repentance owes its origin to Christian good will". But there is little trace in our documents of such a feeling towards Judas. Keim, *Jesus von Nazara* (1872), iii. 456, says: "We must not forget that the cold-blooded resolution, the unshrinking boldness, with which Judas bore himself against his Master, reveal an obduracy that cannot have melted after a few hours or days, perchance never melted". W. Beyschlag (1885), W. Brandt (1893), A. Réville (1897), Oscar Holtzmann (1901), P. W. Schmidt (1904) also reject the historicity of St. Matt. xxvii. 3-5, which they regard as derived by the Evangelist from 2 Sam. xvii. 23 (the suicide of Ahitophel). But how different are the two cases! Ahitophel is the baffled schemer, whose life is forfeit; Judas (on the common view) is the successful schemer, who has got his reward and might well look to his employers for further favours. Stalker has the briefest possible reference, in a footnote, to the death of Judas.

² *Dict. of the New Testament* (1847), art. "Judas": "a long-cherished impatience drove him at last to the awful deed, the aim of which, however, was merely to force Jesus to declare Himself as the Messiah before the eyes of the assembled Jewish people at their great paschal festival".

³ *Geschichte Christi*, 1876, 1892. Hase lectured on the "Life of Christ" at intervals extending over some fifty years (1823-75). His earliest text-book on the subject was published in 1829.

⁴ *Dichtung u. Wahrheit*, xv. (beginning), 1814. Goethe there says that in his youth he had planned a poem (never written) in which this view of the character and motives of Judas

Should we not welcome the thought that he whose sinful deed was divinely over-ruled for the world's redemption, and whose unworthy lips first "confessed Christ before men," was neither the mean caitiff of the vulgar tradition "who for a few pence sold his holy Master,"¹ nor the crafty schemer of the Oberammergau passion-play, with a single eye, whatever might befall, to his own advantage,² nor yet the sometime friend and disciple, turned unbeliever and enemy, whom some modern writers have seen in him?³

De Quincey in his remarkable essay on "Judas Iscariot"⁴ maintains, as is done in this paper, that "his death might, if once truly deciphered, throw back some faint illustrative light both upon the life and upon the offence". He does not, however, rest the case upon St. Matthew xxvii. 3-5, but upon his proposed correction of "a false translation from the Greek" in Acts i. 18b. The passage should, he holds, be understood, "he came to utter and unmitigated ruin," "*fell* into fierce despair," "*his heart broke*" (he died of a broken heart). Probably no living scholar would endorse this rendering, but most readers will, I trust, yield at least an assent to the eloquent plea: "in the greatest of earthly tragedies Judas is a prominent figure. So long as the earth revolves, he cannot be forgotten. If, therefore, there is a doubt affecting his case, he is entitled to the benefit of that doubt."

would have found expression. His conjecture that Judas counted on an armed rising in his Master's favour was taken up by De Quincey.

¹ Cowper's sapphics quoted above.

² I quote a few sentences from his soliloquy, *Official Text* (1900), p. 47: "My fortune is made.—Yes, it cannot fail. I keep my promise,—taking good care to be paid in advance. If, then, the chief priests succeed in taking the Master prisoner and an end is made of him, I secure my little profit on the transaction, and moreover become famous in all Jewry as one who helped to vindicate the Law of Moses, and have a claim to further thanks and reward. If, on the other hand, the Master wins the day and manifests his glory, then I will throw myself repentant at his feet. . . . Never have I known him reject the penitent . . . He will receive me again; indeed I can claim the merit of having brought matters to a crisis.—So I will not quite sever my connection with him, will not break down the bridge behind me. . . . Judas, you are a clever fellow!" The old rationalist Paulus (1828), ii. 146, presents Judas in much the same light.

³ So in the main, I think, Neander, B. Weiss, Beyschlag, Oscar Holtzmann.

⁴ 1857. See Masson's edition, viii., pp. 184-97.

W. A. Cox.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AND THE MACCABEES.

A STUDY IN TWO PARTS.

PART II.—THE MACCABEES.

THOMAS HODGKIN, D.C.L., D.Litt.

(Continued from page 284.)

Of the people of Israel themselves with whom the Syrian king was thus to come into conflict, we have far less information than we could desire, far less real and trustworthy information than could be inferred by an uncritical reader of the smooth-flowing narrative of Josephus.

The transportation of the two tribes of Judah and Benjamin into captivity took place about the year B.C. 600. The books of the Maccabees begin their detailed history of the nation about B.C. 200. Of the intervening history of the Jewish people during all these 400 years we have practically no authentic record, except for some twenty years (536-516) at the time of the Return, and twenty-six years (459-433) the period in which Ezra and Nehemiah were carrying through their work of reformation. From 433 to 200 authentic history is silent as to the doings of the little nation that clustered on the Judæan hills round the Temple of Jerusalem. Legends, now generally discredited, about the men of the Great Synagogue, the names of several of the high priests, and a story, probably mythical, concerning an interview between the high priest Jaddua and Alexander the Great, help to fill up the pages of historical manuals, but add little or nothing to the sum of our real knowledge.

On the other hand, there are some indications that this long period of unrecorded history was by no means the least prosperous in the religious life of Israel. It contains, it is true, the works of only three prophets, Zechariah, Haggai and Malachi, but as the mission of the prophet was generally to warn them against

idolatry, this silence may itself be a proof that it was not an age of apostasy from Jehovah. Some at least, perhaps many of the Psalms, which have become the rich heritage of the Christian Church, were composed in the course of these four centuries. If Ecclesiasticus, the noblest of all the Apocryphal books, was, as most scholars now hold, not composed till the very end of this period, at any rate the state of society out of which such a book was to emerge cannot have been altogether unfavourable to holy living and to the growth of that wisdom the beginning of which is the fear of the Lord.

It is evident that during this interval the institutions which claimed Moses for their author maintained a strong hold upon the life and conscience of Israel. As Mr. Bevan has well said,¹ "When Ezra and Nehemiah had repelled the encroachments of the heathen environment and made the fence of the Law yet more strong, their labour was not lost. The little people dwelt separate in their hill country, and while wars rolled past them and kingdoms clashed and changed, nursed the sacred fire and meditated on the Law of the Lord." In their seclusion, their antagonism to the Gentile nations around them grew stronger and more bitter. When St. Paul said of his countrymen in writing to the Thessalonians, "They please not God and are contrary to all men," though they would have indignantly denied the first clause of the indictment, they would probably have admitted the second. "Lo! the people dwelt alone and was not reckoned among the nations." "Edom and Ammon, the heathen that were in Gilead, they of Tyre and Sidon and all Galilee of the Gentiles," were still regarded as enemies, but the bitterest of Jewish scorn and hatred, half racial, half religious, was reserved for the Samaritan neighbours who said that Gerizim, not Jerusalem, was the place where men ought to worship.

Judging by their conduct at the time of the Syrian persecution, we conclude that the three points in the Law of Moses on which the faithful Jew insisted most uncompromisingly were the maintenance of the Mosaic distinction between clean and unclean

¹ *The House of Seleucus*, ii., 167.

rite of circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, and the beasts, the uncleanest of all the unclean to him as to so many million adherents of another Semitic faith this day being "the swine, because it divideth the hoof yet cheweth not the cud".

There was a party of strict Jews called the Khasidim or the Pietists, who clung with desperate tenacity to these three essentials of Judaism; but there were also, as we shall soon discover, some lukewarm Jews, who while very likely willing heartily to join in their brethren's scorn of the Edomite and the Ammonite, were half fascinated by the joyous licence of Greek civilisation and had no mind to be looked upon as fanatics and barbarians when they visited the groves of Daphne or sauntered through the colonnades of Antioch.

The only serious dispute which arose between the Jews and their new rulers, the Syrian kings, was in the reign of the predecessor of Antiochus IV., his brother Seleucus Philopater. The dispute then turned on no deep religious controversy, but only on the necessity of replenishing the royal coffers, so grievously depleted by the terrible indemnity paid to Rome. According to the story (evidently much embellished, if founded on fact), which is told us by the author of the Second Book of Maccabees, Heliodorus the treasurer, at the instigation of an evil-minded Benjamite named Simon, came to Jerusalem; demanded of Onias the high priest that he should hand over some part of the "infinite sums of money" which were stored up within the Temple; and when this demand was refused, insisted on penetrating the sacred precincts and forcing his way to the Treasury, amid the horror-stricken lamentations of all the dwellers in Jerusalem. There however he was met by the apparition of a horse bearing a terrible rider, covered with a complete harness of gold. At the onslaught of the terrible rider, Heliodorus fell to the ground and was compassed with great darkness, having first been scourged with many sore blows by two young men notable in strength and of excellent beauty, who accompanied the celestial horseman. The intruder was restored to consciousness by the prayers of Onias, and left Jerusalem without having accomplished

his mission, but it was by his felon deed that some years after, as has been already said, his master Seleucus IV. was murdered.

The story has been made memorable by the pen of Dante and the brush of Raffaele, and is so far consistent with probability that at any rate after the payment of the ransom to Rome the kings of Syria were constantly visiting the temples of the gods worshipped by their subjects and seeking to despoil them of their treasures.

The first assaults on the citadel of the Jewish faith came not from foreigners but from domestic treason. The good high priest Onias was intrigued against by his brother Joshua, who took the Gentile name of Jason, visited the court of Antiochus soon after his accession and persuaded the king by a bribe of 400 talents (£75,000) to grant him his brother's office. At the same time "certain wicked men desirous to make a covenant with the heathen round about, went to the king and obtained from him" (assuredly with no great difficulty) "licence to do after the ordinances of the heathen". The chief outward sign of this desired Hellenisation of Israel was the building at Jerusalem of a Greek palaestra in which of course naked athletes would run and wrestle and wield the cestus as at the Olympic games. Another less important innovation had to do with the national costume. The Hellenisers laid aside apparently the Semitic turban and took to wearing the *petasus*, the spreading hat which was the ordinary head-dress of the Athenian youths and which we know from its frequent representation in the friezes of the Parthenon. The craze for athletics spread through all classes, and the chronicler records with horror that even the priests, finding it wearisome to continue their daily ministrations at the altar, rushed down to the palaestra as soon as the signal was given for the throwing of the discus.

Probably in order to show his liberality in religious matters, Jason sent an offering to the altar of Hercules at Tyre, at the Quinquennalia, when the king was present, but for some reason which is not very clearly explained, perhaps because of the smallness of the offering, it was not accepted by the sacrificing

priests. Jason, however, seems to have found himself outdone by a more thorough-going apostate ; he was at any rate easily vanquished by the same weapons of corruption which he had himself used. A man who had taken the Greek name of Mene-laus, brother of Simon the Benjamite, offered 300 talents of silver more than Jason, and albeit not of the sacred family of Aaron, obtained the high priesthood for himself, the venerable Onias being murdered, in order to prevent opposition from his partisans. We are told that this crime was committed without the knowledge of Antiochus, who wept when he heard of it and deprived the Syrian governor who was guilty of the deed, both of office and life.

It is not easy to follow the course of the Hellenisation of Jerusalem, which under these depraved and utterly irreligious high priests seems to have gone forward rapidly ; but there were evidently tumults and skirmishes between the partisans of the two claimants for the pontificate, and rightly or wrongly Antiochus looked upon these disorders as signs of disaffection to Syria and a desire to resume the old allegiance to the Ptolemaic kings.

Meanwhile the Syrian king, little heeding probably the religious or irreligious caprices of the little nation on Mount Zion, was playing the great game of empire in the valley of the Nile. Taking advantage of the fact that Rome was engaged in a difficult struggle with the last King of Macedon, and that a fratricidal strife was being waged between two princes of the Ptolemaic line, he had invaded Egypt, besieged Alexandria and placed a strong garrison in the Egyptian frontier fortress of Pelusium. This he had been able to do in the years 170 to 169, because Rome needed every available soldier for her struggle in Macedonia. But when he moved southwards in 168 to renew the strife and to impose a more humiliating yoke on the now reconciled Ptolemaic brethren, his opportunity was already gone. On the battlefield of Pydna, Æmilius Paulus had inflicted a crushing defeat on Perseus, King of Macedonia ; and now the Roman ambassador, C. Popilius Laenas, had no need to temporise with the Seleucid king. Before Antiochus could appear under the walls

of Alexandria, the ambassador met him, and then followed that well-known scene, so typical of Rome's manner of dealing with her Mediterranean neighbours. Antiochus, who no doubt had made the acquaintance of Popilius during his captivity in Rome, hailed him from afar, and as he drew nigh, stretched out his hand in greeting. Popilius made no other reply than to hold out the tablet on which was inscribed the will of the Senate, "Antiochus must retire from Egypt," and bid him read that first. The king hesitated and talked of consulting with his friends. Thereupon Popilius, who held in his hand the vine-rod with which Roman centurions chastised unruly soldiers, drew on the sand a circle round Antiochus and demanded an answer, "Yes" or "No," to the Senate's decree ere he stepped out of the ring. Antiochus was silent for a few minutes and then answered that he would do whatever the Romans desired. At once the manner of Popilius changed; he clasped the proffered hand and he and all his colleagues greeted the king with cordiality.

Groaning in spirit but yielding to the necessities of the time, Antiochus returned to his own land and vented on Jerusalem the wrath which he dared not display against Rome. The disturbances which had happened in Jerusalem gave him a pretext, perhaps something more than a pretext, for doubting Jewish loyalty, and now that Pelusium had been surrendered it was more than ever necessary to strengthen Jerusalem against an invading Ptolemy. A citadel, the Acra, was built, probably overlooking the Temple: it was made a place of arms and a storehouse for the army, and as a chronicler says, "It became a place to lie in wait in against the sanctuary and an evil adversary to Israel continually".

It is possible that as is averred by the author of the First Book of Maccabees, the proceedings at Jerusalem were part of a design on the part of Antiochus to Hellenise his whole kingdom in order as he describes it "that all should be one people and that each should forsake its own laws". If it were so, the other Semitic tribes, Moab and Ammon and the Edomite, must have yielded quietly: only Judah refused to abandon the God of his fathers and his

resistance stirred the sore and restless spirit of Antiochus to something like frenzy. There was indeed a method in his madness, for when he arrived at Jerusalem he insisted on visiting the Temple and took from thence treasure amounting, according to one statement,¹ to 1,800 talents (£360,000); but when that was done he left a new governor, a Phrygian named Philip, at Jerusalem with orders to carry through the complete transformation of city and Temple to a Hellenic type. "On the 15th day of Chisleu (November) in the 145th year (B.C. 167) an abomination of desolation was builded upon the altar": in other words, the great altar of Jehovah had superimposed upon it an altar to Zeus Olympius, "and in the cities of Judah on every side they builded idol altars. And at the doors of the houses and in the streets they burned incense: and they rent in pieces the books of the Law which they found and set them on fire: and wheresoever a book of the Covenant was found with any, or if any consented to the Law they delivered him to death."

In some cases the holy books were not burnt, but profaned by having idol-pictures scrawled over them, or being dipped in the "broth of abominable things," which the ministers of the heathen sanctuary had prepared. For swine and other animals unclean, according to the Mosaic law, were now offered on all the altars: moreover, once a month, when the king's birthday came round, the Jews "were led along with bitter constraint to eat of the sacrifices, and when the Dionysia came they were compelled to go in procession in honour of Dionysus, wearing wreaths of ivy". The practice of circumcision was prohibited by law, and two women who had dared to disobey the decree by circumcising their children were led ignominiously round the city with their dead babes hanging from their breasts, and were then cast down headlong from the city wall into the valley of Jehoshaphat.

There is undoubtedly some exaggeration in the story of the persecution, especially as it is told by the author of the Second Book of Maccabees, who talks too freely of general massacres

¹ 2 Maccabees v. 21.

in which great multitudes were slain ; but that the persecution was for a time intense, and that the king with his fitful and irrational energy had set himself to root out the worship of Jehovah and to substitute for it the worship of Olympian Jupiter, there can be no doubt.

It is to this time that we must refer the story of the martyrdom of Eleazar, "one of the principal scribes, a man already well stricken in years and of a noble countenance," who welcomed death by torture rather than eat the swine's flesh which the officers of the tyrant endeavoured to force into his mouth. The tragedy of the seven brethren who were successively put to death before the eyes of their mother, for their steadfast refusal to taste of the abominable swine's flesh, and of that mother herself who followed them to martyrdom, can hardly be historically true in the shape in which it has come down to us, since it represents Antiochus himself as taking part in the scene and striving to threaten or to wheedle the young men into compliance with his wishes ; but there is nothing in the general tenor of the story inconsistent with probability.

There was at first some resistance, especially from those who refused to obey the governor's commands by working on the Sabbath Day. They wandered in the mountains, they withdrew into the caves with which Palestine abounds, that they might there keep the Sabbath Day secretly ; but the very scruple of these *Khasidim* was the means of their destruction, for the Syrian officers had only to set the battle in array against them on the Sabbath Day. "They answered them not, neither cast they a stone at them nor stopped up the mountain passes, but said, 'Let us all die in our innocence. Heaven and earth witness for us that ye put us to death without trial.' So the Syrians fought against them on the Sabbath, and they died, they and their wives and their children and their cattle, to the number of a thousand souls, because they scrupled to defend themselves from regard to the honour of that most solemn day."¹

Thus everything seemed to point to the triumph of Hellenism

¹ 1 Macc. ii. 28, combined with 2 Macc. vi. 11.

over Judaism, of Olympus over Mount Zion, when the wave of persecution rolled on to a little village in the Maritime Plain, met there with unexpected resistance and was thence beaten back with scarcely interrupted defeat to its own Syrian starting-point. At Modin dwelt an aged priest, Mattathias, the son of John, and he had five sons, John, Simon, Judas, Eleazar and Jonathan. Each son had a surname, the interpretation of most of which is somewhat doubtful; but it is generally agreed that Maccabeus, the memorable surname of the third son Judas, signifies a hammer. Thus Judas Maccabeus, the vanquisher of the Syrians, foreshadows Charles Martel, the vanquisher of the Saracens.

Already when he had heard the tidings of the blasphemies that were committed in Judah and Jerusalem, Mattathias had poured forth a psalm of lamentation and he and his sons had rent their clothes and put on sackcloth and mourned exceedingly. Now came one of the king's officers to Modin with orders to execute the king's decree and compel the villagers to sacrifice to Jupiter. With courteous words he invited Mattathias as the chief man in the little town to come forward and do sacrifice as all his countrymen in Jerusalem had done. So complying, he should be enrolled in the aristocratic class of the "King's Friends" and he and his sons should receive silver and gold and many precious gifts.

With a loud voice Mattathias answered that if all the nations of Asia should obey the king's decree, he would stand firm, and he and his sons would continue to walk in the covenant of their fathers. "Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words to go aside from our worship, on the right hand or on the left." When he ceased, an apostate Jew came forward in the sight of all to offer sacrifice on the heathen altar. Thereat the anger of the aged priest was kindled and he ran and slew the recreant Israelite on the altar. Then he, helped probably by his sons, slew also the king's officer and pulled down the altar which he had built.

Of course after this defiance of the king, the peaceable Maritime Plain was no place for Mattathias. He and his sons and all

who like him were zealous for the Law and maintained the covenant "fled into the mountains and forsook all that they had in the city".

Two voices are there : one is of the sea,
One of the mountains,
And both of liberty.

Never did the latter voice ring more truly than when that high mountain range, the backbone of Palestine, which travellers know so well, received the Hasmonean¹ patriarch and his sons. At first they kept themselves alive in the mountains after the manner of wild beasts, feeding on such poor herbs as grow there, that they might not be partakers of the threatened pollutions ; then as more and more of the Khasidim joined them, they made descents upon the villages, pulling down the heathen altars, slaying many of the apostates, persuading some of the faint-hearted lovers of the Law to join them and returning, doubtless with some weeks' supply of food, to their mountains. After a few months the aged Mattathias died, worn out probably with the hardships of his life in the highlands, and Judas, who had been pointed out by his father's hand as his successor, took his place at the head of the movement.

One most important element in the generalship of Judas was that, overruling probably the counsels of the stricter Khasidim, he carried into effect a resolution already formed in his father's lifetime, to resist even on the Sabbath Day. "Whosoever shall come against us to battle on the Sabbath Day, let us fight against him, and we shall in no wise all die as our brethren did in the caverns."

It is only the early campaigns of Judas Maccabeus that fall within the scope of this paper, for in the winter of 164 Antiochus Epiphanes was no more, and even those campaigns must be treated with brevity.

There was evidently something in the character of Judas Maccabeus which especially fitted him for the part he had to play as leader of a band of untrained patriots against the disciplined

¹ The reason of this family name is not altogether apparent ; but probably Hasmon was one of the ancestors of Mattathias.

armies of a mighty monarchy. Arising as he did at the lowest and most depressing period of his nation's fortunes, he had in his own personality a magnetism which attracted to him all brave men, and he shed around him an *aura* of happy confidence which caused them to "fight with cheerfulness the battle of Israel. So he gat his people great honour and put on a breastplate as a giant, and girt his warlike harness about him. In his acts he was like a lion and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey : for he pursued the wicked and sought them out and burned up those that vexed his people."¹

The first battle which Judas fought was with Apollonius, who was probably the Syrian governor of Samaria and who "gathered together the Gentiles and a great host out of Samaria to fight against Israel. Which thing when Judas perceived, he went forth to meet him and so he smote him and slew him : many fell down slain, but the rest fled. Wherefore Judas took their spoils and Apollonius' sword also and therewith he fought all his life long." So says the chronicler, but the remainder of that victorious life was not to exceed the span of five years.

His next victory was over a general named Seron, and was won on the historic site of the pass of Beth-horon where Joshua had inflicted his memorable defeat on the Five Kings of Jerusalem and the surrounding cities. Though the number of slain in this engagement is given at the very moderate figure of 800 men, the fact that it was a victory, the second of its kind, won by the guerilla bands of the Hasmoneans over the Macedonian phalanx, caused doubtless many searchings of heart as well as much incoherent wrath when the tidings thereof reached the palace of Antioch.

For in the meantime, while this little-heeded revolt had been gathering head among the mountains of Judæa, Antiochus had been squandering the treasures won during his Egyptian campaign in pageants and banquets of splendid absurdity. Having heard of the games given in conquered Macedonia by the Roman proconsul Æmilius Paulus, and being desirous to outdo the

¹ 1 Macc. iii. 2-5.

great Republic, at any rate in peaceful rivalry, he invited all the Grecian cities to attend the games which he was about to celebrate in cypress-shaded Daphne. First came the procession of some 50,000 men, armed in the fashion of various nationalities, Roman, Gaulish, Macedonian, with brazen or silver shields or with purple surcoats embroidered with gold. Then came 100 chariots drawn by six horses, and forty drawn by four ; two chariots drawn by four and two elephants respectively ; and then thirty-six elephants in single file with magnificent housings. Eight hundred young men wearing gold crowns carried the images of gods, demigods and heroes, of Night and Day, of Earth and Heaven ; young slaves of the king carrying golden vessels, and hundreds of women in litters with gold or silver feet, all adorned with great costliness. Then followed the games, the combats of gladiators, the hunting-scenes, lasting for thirty days, and then public banquets of the most luxurious kind, at which couches were spread sometimes for 1,000 and sometimes for 1,500 guests. At all these festivities the king himself acted as an assiduous master of the ceremonies, during the processions, riding on a sorry nag alongside of the marching men, halting this squadron and hurrying forward that group of image-bearers, his own appearance being only like that of a respectable servant. Then at the feasts he stood at the door to assign their places to the guests ; and when the banquet was begun he was perpetually jumping up from his seat, and moving about among the company, drinking healths or laughing at the gibes of the comic reciters. In all this part of the performance his conduct was that of a perhaps over-zealous host, intensely anxious that his guests should enjoy themselves and that universal jollity should prevail. But stranger yet were his proceedings towards the end of the feast, when the mummers carried him in, shrouded in a robe, and laid him on the ground, for all the world as if he were a comedian like themselves. Then at a signal given he leaped up, stripped himself naked and danced an indecent dance with the buffoons, till the guests who still remained, scandalised at the sight, withdrew from the banquet-hall. And this was Antiochus, lord of Asia, Antiochus the

Manifested God, in whose name perhaps at that very hour Macedonian warriors were fighting against the solemn servants of Jehovah who clustered round the Maccabean Lion.

But as I have said, when at last the news of the reverses of his armies in Palestine reached the ears of Antiochus, he saw that a great effort was necessary, and that Coele-Syria, instead of providing him with a handsome tribute, would be a drain to his already impoverished treasury. He decided accordingly to make an expedition beyond the Euphrates, to despoil the temples of Armenia and Mesopotamia. Thus in Napoleonic phrase, "war was to support war"; for at the same time he despatched a large army to Jerusalem under the command of his kinsman Lysias, whom he had appointed regent in his absence.

It was probably in the spring of B.C. 165 that Antiochus started on his Eastern campaign, from which he never returned. After achieving some successes in Armenia and visiting the old Median capital of Ecbatana, whose name he changed to Epiphaneia, he attempted to break into the temple of the goddess Istar in the midst of an Elamite population, who defended the shrine of their goddess so successfully that Antiochus was forced to retire wrathful and humiliated.¹

Some disease of the brain seems to have attacked him and he died soon after at Tabæ, a little town in Persia. The date of his death was probably the end of 165 or the beginning of 164.

Such an end, so obscure and inglorious, to a life in some ways so brilliant and energetic, of course attracted the attention of moralising contemporaries. Polybius says that "he was

¹ Maccabees i. 6 says that "Antiochus the king, while journeying through the upper countries, heard say that in Elymais in Persia there was a city renowned for riches, for silver and gold; and that the temple which was in it was rich exceedingly and that therein were golden shields and breastplates and arms which Alexander son of Philip left behind there. And he came and sought to take the city and to pillage it; and he was not able because the thing was known to them of the city and they rose up against him to battle and he fled and removed thence with great heaviness to return unto Babylon."

This writer seems to make the place of Antiochus' death to have been Babylon, though his language is not quite decisive. Second Maccabees puts it apparently near Ecbatana. The authority of Polybius, who puts it at Tabæ in Persia (whatever the precise site of that city may have been), is to be preferred to either.

driven mad, as some say, by some manifestation of Divine wrath in the course of his wicked attempt upon the temple of Artemis". The Jewish writers naturally connect the king's death with his violation of their own sanctuary and persecution of their people. The author of the First Book of Maccabees represents it as partly due to his grief at the news of the victories of Judas. "And he called for all his friends and said unto them, 'Sleep departeth from mine eyes and mine heart faileth for care. And I said in my heart, Into what tribulation am I come and in how great a flood am I overwhelmed ; for I was gracious and beloved in my power' [these words of a hostile chronicler are worthy of notice]. 'But now I remember the evils which I did at Jerusalem and that I took all the vessels of silver and gold that were therein and sent forth to destroy the inhabitants of Judah without a cause. I perceive that on this account these evils have come upon me, and behold I perish through great grief in a foreign land.'"

The author of the Second Book of Maccabees, who colours his pictures more highly than the author of the First, represents the king as moved to a paroxysm of fury by the tidings from Judæa, and as threatening to make Judæa a common graveyard of Jews ; but in the mid-current of his passion he is struck down by an invisible hand, he falls from his chariot and is attacked by some loathsome disease which makes him intolerable to himself and all his attendants. He repents of his past misdeeds, promises restitution of the vessels taken from the Temple and says he will himself become a Jew and will visit every inhabited place, publishing abroad the might of God. But the repentance comes too late, and "the murderer and blasphemer, having endured the sorest sufferings, even as he had dealt with other men, ended his life among the mountains by a most piteous fate in a strange land".

The greater part of this later historian's narrative we feel that we may safely discard, but there is incorporated with it a document which some recent critics are disposed to regard as authentic. It is a letter addressed "by Antiochus, king and general, to the worthy Jews his fellow-citizens". The chief object

of the letter is to inform the receivers thereof of his own noisome sickness, from which he hopes to recover, but has nevertheless appointed his son Antiochus his successor and for him he solicits their loyal good-will. But the letter as has been well pointed out by Bevan,¹ contains no evidence of contrition for the indignities inflicted on the worshippers of Jehovah: and the "worthy Jews his fellow-citizens" are the Hellenising inhabitants of Jerusalem, who were the objects of fiercest aversion and bitterest scorn to the Maccabean patriots.

On the whole we are not entitled to say that there was any real repentance on that death-bed in that obscure Persian town, for any misdeeds towards Jews or Elamites or any of his subjects. All that is known is that the pride of the God Manifest was suddenly brought low and that his restless, fervid, inconstant brain at length had rest.

In conclusion we must briefly notice the events of the years B.C. 165 and 164, some of which may—for the chronology is most uncertain—have reached the ears of Antiochus on his march through "the upper countries" and may have hastened his end.

While Antiochus was busily engaged in the eastern provinces of his empire his lieutenant-governor Lysias was organising his forces for the suppression of the revolt in Coele-Syria. An army consisting as we are told² of 40,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry "was sent into the land of Judah, to destroy it". This army was under the command of three great nobles ("King's Friends") named Ptolemy, Nicanor and Gorgias, and was accompanied by numbers of merchants, who saw an opportunity for a profitable investment in the Jewish youths and maidens whom the generals would certainly take captive and would sell for slaves. The army took up its quarters at Emmaus, a town of the Maritime Plain, about twenty miles from Jerusalem.³

¹ See Bevan, ii., 177 and 298, quoting the German scholar Niese.

² 1 Macc. iii. 39.

³ The name Emmaus naturally suggests to us the incident, so unlike a Maccabean battle-scene, recorded in St. Luke xxiv. 13-35. It is, however, certain that the Emmaus of 1 Macc. iii. 40 cannot be the Emmaus of St. Luke. In the first place, the former received after the battle the name of Nico-polis, the City of Victory, and was probably known generally by that name in the time of Christ. Secondly, it is at least 160 furlongs from Jerusalem and

While they were gloating over the prospect of the coming victory, Judas and his fellow-patriots, assembled on the top of Mizpeh over against Jerusalem, were fasting and praying, clothed in sackcloth and with ashes on their heads, crying aloud to heaven for help against the Gentiles who had profaned God's Holy Place. Then, according to the Law of Moses, Judas made proclamation that all the faint-hearted ones, all the newly married men, all whose hearts were in their newly planted vineyards, in their houses just rising from their foundations, should return to their homes and leave only the whole-souled patriots to fight for their Temple and their nation.

Was there some lack of unity of purpose in the triply generalised army of Lysias? It is possible; at any rate the disposition of the country folk gave Judas the better chance of learning the movements of the enemy. Hearing that Gorgias with 6,000 men meditated an attack upon his camp among the hills, he decided to let him have his desire, and himself, the same night, with 3,000 men, not too well armed, stole forth from the camp, descended into the plain and was ready at break of day to attack the camp of the other generals at Emmaus. The surprise, the fervour of the Jewish patriots, their irresistible onrush accomplished the utter defeat of the Syrian host, greatly superior as they were in numbers, and when the men of Gorgias, returning from the empty camp of Israel, peeped over the brow of the hills, they saw the smoke ascending from their own camp, the camp of Nicanor and Ptolemy. Restraining his own followers from dispersing in quest of plunder, Judas led them victoriously against the amazed and dispirited men of Gorgias, and then they returned to spoil the camp, where they "got much gold and silver and blue and sea-purple and great riches". So they returned home, chanting the 136th Psalm with its continually recurring refrain,

not sixty as was the Emmaus of St. Luke (xxiv. 13). Thirdly, no alteration of the text would seriously affect this argument, since it would be impossible for the events recorded in St. Luke to have occurred in connection with a place fully five hours' journey (for pedestrians) from Jerusalem.

The suggestion may seem a hazardous one; but is it possible that in memory of the great victory of Judas, the name Emmaus may have been given to some suburban retreat in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, as to Portobello in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh?

“for His mercy endureth for ever,” perhaps also that noble song in which Annias, Azarias and Misael call upon all the works of the Lord to “praise Him and magnify Him for ever”.

Another battle of which we have fewer particulars was fought at Beth-zur near Hebron, against the lieutenant-governor Lysias himself, and was apparently so complete a victory that it opened to Judas the road to Jerusalem. “Then Judas and his brethren said, ‘Behold our enemies are discomfited, let us go up to cleanse the Holy Place and to dedicate it afresh’.” And all the army was gathered together, and they went up unto Mount Zion. And they saw the sanctuary laid desolate and the altar profaned and the gates burned up and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or on one of the mountains,¹ and the priests’ chambers pulled down, and they rent their clothes and made great lamentation, and put ashes upon their heads and fell on their faces to the ground, and blew with the solemn trumpets and cried towards heaven.

The Akra, the strong Seleucid fortress overlooking the Temple, was still untaken and remained so for many years. Judas had therefore to appoint certain men “to fight against the garrison of the Akra, until he should have cleansed the Holy Place,” a remembrance of the days of Nehemiah, when with sword in one hand and trowel in the other the soldier masons of Jerusalem wrought at their double labour.

“Blameless priests” (that is men who had not polluted themselves by compliance with the idolatrous regime), “and such as had pleasure in the law” were employed to cleanse the Holy Place, to take down the stones of the great altar defiled by the offering of swine’s flesh upon them and carry them forth to “a convenient place,” where they should be stored until some prophet should arise to give an answer concerning them. The altar itself was rebuilt, the gates re-hung, the courts hallowed anew, the candlestick, the altar of incense, the table of show bread brought once

¹ Niese (quoted by Bevan, ii., 298) has brought out that the writer is here intentionally making a vacuum where really there was a Hellenistic population. The two accounts of what happened to the Temple, (1) that it was given over to heathen worship, and (2) that it was forsaken, are in fact inconsistent.

more into the Temple. The lamps were lighted, the purple veils were hung in their accustomed places. All was again solemn joy in the House of the Lord.

Such was the great feast of the Dedication on the 25th day of the ninth month, the month Chisleu (the month corresponding to our December), the feast which Christ attended and at which he "was walking in the Temple in Solomon's Porch".¹ It was noted with special gratification that this solemn Purification of the Temple took place on the precise anniversary of the day on which its desecration had taken place by order of Antiochus: but how long the reign of pollution had lasted we are not able to say.² With this joyous festival, the feast of Dedication or of Lights, our review of the first part of the Maccabean War of Liberation comes to an end. There were yet some vicissitudes in the struggle to be encountered. Judas himself fell in battle in 161, his glorious career having lasted little more than five years. His brothers, Simon and Jonathan, continued the struggle. Jerusalem was captured and recaptured several times, Roman aid was solicited, the usurpations and disputed successions in the Seleucid House all helped the cause of Jewish freedom. At last in the year B.C. 141 the Syrian garrison in the Akra surrendered and the independence of the Jewish State was practically recognised by the Seleucid kings.

In conclusion I observe that we should do well to remember the strong impression which the events of the Maccabean struggle made on the Jewish mind and the degree in which that impression was still an enduring one when Christ came. The interval which separated the death of Judas Maccabeus from the birth of Christ was only about as long as that which separates us in the present day from Charles Edward Stuart's attempt to overthrow the House of Hanover. Can we doubt that such a memorable struggle as that recorded in the books of Maccabees, the attempt so

¹ John x. 22.

² 2 Maccabees x. 3 says that the sacrifices ceased for two years, surely an impossibly short time; the chronology of 1 Maccabees i. 54, iv. 52, makes it three years. Mr. Bevan (ii., 279), who puts the purification in December 164, would, I suppose, make the pollution last four years.

vigorously made and so nearly successful to Hellenise the Jewish nation, had burnt itself deep into the hearts of the posterity of the patriots. Jewish mothers would tell their children the story of the desecrated Temple, of the seven brave martyr brethren, of the righteous zeal of Mattathias, of the night march of Judas to the camp of Emmaus. In reading our own Christian Scriptures, we ought to have the events of the Maccabean revolt vividly present to our minds. There are verses in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews which sound like echoes of the books of Maccabees. Such are "waxed fervent in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens. And others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection. They wandered in deserts and in mountains, and in caves and holes of the earth."

Nor less strong must have been the effect of the struggle in making more bitter and more intense the religious prejudices of the Jews. When Peter on the house-top said, "Not so, Lord, for I have never eaten anything common or unclean," he repeated the protest of the seven brethren who died rather than eat swine's flesh at the bidding of Antiochus. When the infuriated mob of Jerusalem demanded the life of St. Paul because "he hath brought Greeks into the Temple and hath polluted this Holy Place," they might have been thinking of Heliodorus and Epiphanes and of how their intrusion into the Holy Place had been avenged by Jehovah. Nay, even the persistent wrangles of the Pharisees with our Saviour about the observance of the Sabbath become to us a little less meaningless when we remember that there was actually a party among the devout Jews of the period who would rather be slaughtered "in their innocence" by the myrmidons of the tyrant, than raise a hand in self-defence on the Sabbath Day.

THOMAS HODGKIN.

CHRIST'S DEEPER THOUGHT BENEATH HIS PROMISE OF REST.

REV. HENRY W. CLARK.

It is always interesting to make an attempt at piercing into the underlying consciousness out of which some familiar utterance of Christ's proceeded at the moment when it was first spoken. Somewhat hazardous, perhaps, such an attempt may be, inasmuch as fancy may easily lead one too far, and one may invest with authority some speculation which has little else than plausibility to recommend it; and yet, if one can once arrive at some conclusion concerning the inner processes of thought lying behind a given proclamation or promise—can, as it were, get at the thought beneath the uttered thought—the proclamation or promise itself gathers added meaning and point. One sees, in attaining to such a conclusion, not alone the isolated wave, but the entire sweep of the current whereof it forms a part.

Is it possible to catch some glimpse of the movement of consciousness, so to say, out of which came Christ's familiar promise of rest? The words on which the promise was carried are of course among the most frequently-handled jewels in the Christian treasury; but may not the words derive some new power through our apprehension of the thoughts which were closely associated with them in the Speaker's mind, but to which no words were given? Can one, in this instance, obtain some idea of the deep beneath the deep?

We may conjecture with tolerable assurance that there was present to Christ's mind an Old Testament utterance whereof His own was in a manner an echo, and even, so far as regards one of its most important phrases, an actual repetition. Long since, the prophet Jeremiah, calling to a nation which was paying a heavy penalty for its sins, and whose lot was being swept with storm by

retributive justice too well deserved, had said, "Stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls". The similarity between the promise of Christ and that of the prophet of earlier times is too close to be accidental; and we are warranted in holding that Christ, as He uttered His gracious invitation, felt Himself to be making a final solution of the spiritual problem with which the prophet had dealt long before—and giving to it a solution in which the prophet's own solution was not contradicted or abolished, but confirmed and fulfilled.

Looking more closely into the matter, we come upon confirmation of the idea just stated—the idea that the mind of Christ had hold upon the prophet's ancient word—in the fact that Christ's treatment of the soul's problem follows, in at any rate one essential particular, the line of the prophet himself. The point of likeness between the counsel of the older voice and the counsel of the new is found in this—that both make the rest of the inner nature to consist in the submission of the inner nature to an authority beyond itself. For rest—so the prophet's declaration runs—yield yourselves to a walking in the settled paths, acknowledge the control of established law, pay homage to that which is ordained of old. For rest—so runs the counsel of the Christ—wear the yoke of submission to Me, by whom the right way is revealed, take the place of humbly-learning pupils before Me, in whom life's true wisdom is gathered up. Rest for the soul, for the deep self in man, by submission to an authority beyond the soul, beyond the self. Thus, both with prophet and with Christ, does the prescription stand.

It was an element in Christ's thought, therefore—in that deeper thought beneath the uttered thought—that through subjection to discipline lay the way to peace; and the graciousness of the invitation and the promise, while it softens down and makes winsome the demand that man shall submit, leaves the demand itself unrepealed. Surveying the spiritual condition of mankind—the unrestful spiritual condition of mankind—Christ, even as He proposes to deal with and to heal it, makes it clear

that He is not going to deal with or to heal it in the way that men would naturally choose. He reasserts the principle through the neglect of which man's restlessness has come; and His consciousness moves round the law that to hearken to commandment is still the only way to peace. With all His pitifulness, He must nevertheless impose a yoke. Had the hearts round about Him become articulate, they would have declared (as so many hearts declare to-day) that not self-submission, but self-development, self-expansion, self-freedom, was the chiefest need: it was because there were so many fetters galling them already, they would have said, that they were kept in chafing restlessness: could they but fling away all restraints, shake off all the hindrances of oppressing authority, and allow all that was in them to pass out as through wide-opened gates to have its way and accomplish its will, then they would be able to work out their peace. But Christ—though He would not only have confessed, but insisted, that the yoke which the ingenuity of priests and scribes had fashioned for the people's necks was not the yoke divinely intended—would not be carried into any word implying that in the absence of any yoke at all rest might be found. From His deep sounding of human nature's depths He brought up the certainty that in utter freedom from authority and restraint, not rest, but more poignant restlessness, would lie; and He knew that life, left undisciplined and unguided, while it might perchance find something of the good in it strengthened, would most surely find the evil in it strengthened too; and the rest of a soul freed from all disturbances, settled into its true and proper line of growth, could never, apart from control and direction, become the possession of men and women tangled and mixed of many elements as were those to whom He spoke. Out of love and pity His utterance sprang; but it had behind it, also, an unalterable assurance that only through the taking of a yoke could man find rest.

But if Christ's consciousness thus held an apprehension of the fact that in one way His proclamation repeated the prophetic proclamation of earlier days, it held also an apprehension of the

fact that in another way His message was sweeter than the one offered before. For the point of difference between the older counsel and the new came forth in this—that while both found the secret of soul-rest in submission to an authority beyond the soul, the one suggested conformity to command, the other subjection to a Person. The law as it had been proclaimed and learnt by those who heard its proclamation must be recalled out of the oblivion into which it had been allowed to sink, and must be obeyed when it has been recalled—so ran the prophet's word : the law you have to obey is revealed in Me, and it is *My* yoke you must bear and *My* lessons you must learn—so sounded the Christ's message of rest. And the emphasis on the pronoun is sufficiently marked and thrust forward to warrant the conclusion that Christ, remembering the point of similarity between the prophet's announcement and His, was thinking also of the greater sweetness and winsomeness which this dominance of the personal element gave to His own. It was in the acceptance of a personal relationship, rather than in the effort to yield obedience to impersonal law, that rest of soul was now to be sought and found. "So My proclamation softens the hard outlines of the prophet's call"—one may catch the movement of the Christly thought. The old paths—yes, but they might be so difficult to find! The good way—yes, but the very sound of the words might have in it something too austere for the weak spirits of men! To walk therein—yes, but would the trembling, weary feet ever get very far? Rest of soul in these things—then rest of soul would be for the most a gift after which they sighed in vain. But the Christ knew that with His coming and His ministry there had passed away the sternness of a law which men must obey in order to win their rest; and human souls, instead of being confronted with a command, were face to face with a Christ. They could answer more easily to this call, "Take *My* yoke upon you, and learn of *Me*". Tiring as it might be to search for the good way that they might keep themselves thereon, this was the lighter and the sweeter task in which none of them need fail—to yield their souls to the grip of His

soul whose declaration was, "*I am* the way, and the truth, and the life". If, under the duty imposed by the prophet's message, hope of rest died down, with the sounding of Christ's message—substituting as it did a personal relation for an impersonal law—hope might be born again.

Side by side with the consciousness that this new element was being introduced into the spiritual programme of men, there was also, however, a consciousness that in the fulfilment of the new programme the older programme also was fulfilled. In other words, entrance into the personal relationship which Christ demanded involved and contained within itself obedience to the law whereof the prophet spoke. The new message was like the old in that it insisted on submission as the indispensable condition of rest—was different from the old in that it formulated subjection to a Person as the one needed thing—and came round to the old again in that subjection to the Christ was in reality submission to law after all. This, too, was in Christ's deeper thought. The prophet's summons to those who heard him to learn and conform themselves to the everlasting law which gripped them, was but repeated in Christ's call to men to take the yoke of His spirit upon theirs; for it was (as He Himself with clearness here declared) out of His communion with the God who was the author of law—out of the communion wherein He had learnt all His Father's will—that Christ came forth to bring men into subjection to Himself; and submitting themselves to Him, men submitted themselves to the eternal Will that worked in Him, and so were led to rest. The invitation of these verses is closely linked, as a matter of fact, with the other word Christ has uttered a moment before. "All things have been delivered unto Me of My Father"—"and because the Father and I know each other so well" (one may follow out the thought) "the taking of My yoke brings rest; for the yoke I lay upon you is just the will of the Father whose will I understand, and in the gripping of your spirit by Mine it is My Father's will that grips you, and so in the obedience which I make possible to you ye shall find rest unto your souls". "Stand ye in the ways and see, and ask for the

old paths"—ah, but here were the old paths newly revealed in the Christ, and here, in this subjection of human spirits to the spirit of Christ, was the method whereby men might find and walk in them. Submission to everlasting law the secret of rest—that was still the message, after all; but submission to everlasting law as it came to men and seized them in the coming and the grip of this gracious, loving spirit in which the everlasting law was gathered up. The Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfil. All the law in obedience to which rest could alone be found, had become living in Him, appealing in Him, vocal and magnetic in Him; and in the submission of human souls to the soul of Christ, the old paths were found, the good way trod, the eternal laws of life satisfied, and rest won.

Indeed, in the very centre of the invitation there stand words which indicate, when their significance is rightly probed, that Christ was thinking of subjection to Himself as setting men into harmony with the eternal God, in harmony with whom and with whose Will rest inhered. "*Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in heart.*" That is "I in My turn meekly and humbly subject Myself to the Father; and I do but ask you to repeat towards Me the relation in which I stand towards Him. You, by your acceptance of Me, make yourselves one with Me—I, by My dependence upon the Father, am one with Him—your acceptance of Me, therefore, brings you into oneness and harmony with the Law-Giver and His law, and so secures your rest." Christ, knowing that all His life was formed for Him and within Him from the eternal Will, called to men to take Him as He, if the phrase may pass, was taking God—so, from God through Christ to man, the chain would hold fast in every link. Christ, in His ministry, in His influence, in His offer of Himself as the hiding-place for souls, brought the solicitation of law, and of the God who is law, to the human level; man had but to respond and rest.

From this point of view we grasp the essential significance which Christ intended the conditions of His promise to bear. "Come unto Me," and the others—what was the thought beneath

the uttered thought? If men were to be in the same relation to Christ that He bore to God, then these phrases stand for an utter surrender of the whole nature and personality to Christ's. In fact, these utterances, apparently so simple, really carry the same significance as those obviously deeper utterances which other passages (notably in the Fourth Gospel) record ; and even as He spoke, Christ was thinking of Himself—notwithstanding His choice of elementary words, which might for the moment leave a great part of His meaning unimpressed or reserved from the hearer's mind—as the One in whose being the being of man was to be completely sunk and lost, with whom man was to be, not only linked, but identified through and through. Gazing as we can into the depths of Christ's thought, we see (if these other things of which we have spoken were indeed present with Him) that these simple sentences, telling the conditions on which He could give His rest, really involve as much as the profounder sayings that He was the Bread of life, or that as the Father had life in Himself, so had He given it unto the Son to have life in Himself. The brief "Come unto Me," is only perfectly obeyed when the answering soul can say that it is no longer I that live, but Christ that liveth in me. And Christ's thought, as He said the words which have rung their sweet music in the ears of the generations until to-day, was really ranging round the conception which He embodied, later, in words of prayer, "Even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us. . . . I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be perfected into one."

That the subjection to Himself, to which He invited men, would be found the natural and fitting attitude of the soul, an attitude in which the soul would feel itself to be at home—this, too, was in Christ's deeper thought ; and so He could say that His yoke was easy and His burden light. If, united with Him, men were of a truth united with the eternal Will, dropped into the straight line of things, it must be so. It was part of Christ's joy, when He offered His own rest upon His own conditions, to think how He suited the soul. The scribes and Pharisees

who sat in Moses' seat had made the whole business of the soul's problem into the greatest terror in all the world. However the soul might strive to fulfil their conditions, it would ever be strange among them all ; it could never say, "This is the thing I have been wistfully longing for through all the empty, hungry years". But Christ was setting the submissive soul straight into contact with the eternal order ; and the soul would know it and rejoice. He was bringing the soul into the one place where it could settle down ; and the soul would know it and rejoice. He who took the yoke would realise at once that he had not really taken a yoke at all, but had rather fitted his nature with wings. Christ, although He spoke of His yoke, knew Himself to be no jailer, shutting the soul away from the warm life and love whereof it wanted to partake. Once entered upon the true Christ-relation, the soul for the first time would find itself. And it is surely one of the sweetest things for men to realise to-day that Christ—proclaiming His promises, issuing His invitations, laying down the conditions that could not pass away—Himself found sweetness in this, in the thought that He suited the soul.

HENRY W. CLARK.

REVIEWS.

A History of the Reformation.¹ By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, D.D., LL.D. A middle-aged man who has studied history diligently from the days of his youth could probably say without much exaggeration that as regards the Reformation in the sixteenth century he has read his weight in ponderous tomes; unless indeed he is as fat as that King of Moab whom Ehud slew. And yet so undying is the interest in the religious side of history, especially when religion comes emphatically to the front, as it does periodically, and certainly did in the sixteenth century, that fresh volumes come forth year after year. Last year and the year before we had two more volumes of the *Cambridge Modern History*, wherein the Teutonic revolt from Rome is seen from the European rather than from either the national or the academical standpoint; therefore the volumes, though immensely valuable, intensely interesting, and most praiseworthily impartial, do sometimes lack warmth and sympathy.

Exactly the opposite, as regards these last words, might be said of the second volume of Dr. Lindsay's History: it has plenty of both warmth and sympathy. The first volume we have already reviewed; all that we said in praise thereof is equally applicable to the volume before us. Perhaps its most marked feature is its vivid portraiture. Zwingli, Calvin, Knox, and, even more, Contarini and Ignatius Loyola are all so well depicted that we are greatly helped to understand their influence. Dr. Lindsay does, as far as words can, for the student in the country what the National Portrait Gallery does for the student in London. And this is important. On page 19, Dr. Lindsay says: "It is interesting to note how national habits, memories and even prejudices compelled the external embodiment to take very varying shapes, and force the historian to describe the Reformation in each country as something by itself". The sentence would be equally true if we read, "how the character of its leader". Dr. Lindsay has the power of bringing before us, often in a few lines, the salient features of a man's character. Though he is fair it is always quite clear where his sympathies are. He says of Zwingli, whom he evidently does not altogether like, that "he was led more by his intellect than by the promptings of his heart," and that "until far on in life the question of personal piety did not seem to trouble him much, and he never belonged like Luther and Calvin to the type of men who are the leaders in a revival of personal religion". He has far more sympathy with Calvin, "the reserved, polished French gentleman—a striking contrast to his great predecessor Luther". Calvin was a splendid scholar, nurtured on the classics. In his first book, written when barely twenty-three years of age, he quotes, "and that aptly," fifty-five Latin and twenty-three Greek authors. It is odd to think that in 1528, the year he left the college, De Montaign, Ignatius Loyola entered it. Did they ever chance to meet? In 1535, when only twenty-six, he finished his *Christianæ Religionis Institutio*, which Dr. Lindsay calls "the strongest weapon Protestantism had yet forged against the Papacy". The book so described is further

¹ *A History of the Reformation.* By Thomas M. Lindsay, D.D., LL.D. Vol. ii, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 10s. 6d.

described as "an expansion and exposition of the Apostles Creed," and "Calvin did not think he was expounding a new theology or had joined a new Church". Both "undenominationalists" and clergy who "haven't time to read" might ponder over these things. Dr. Lindsay's excuse for Calvin in the matter of the burning of Servetus is that "ever since the Emperor Theodosius all men were out of law who did not accept the Nicene Creed". This will not do: the same argument would justify all persecution. Probably every "heretic" has defied some law. Leaders should be *before* their time, and those who in A.D. 1903 "erected what they called a *monument expiatoire*" did quite right. Dr. Lindsay might have penned the last quoted words a little differently.

Perhaps to some readers, the latter part of the book—the part, that is, which deals with the Counter-Reformation, and with the "irregular independent thinking" that preceded it—will be the most interesting. Dr. Lindsay tells the tale very well. One can understand how distasteful to the Reformers were the Pantheist-Mystics, the Anabaptists, the Anti-Trinitarians and many other strange erratic sects, who multiplied rapidly especially in Germany and Switzerland. Romanists and Lutherans combined to subject Anabaptists to a persecution "much more harsh than befell any of the religious parties of the sixteenth century". In 1525 the Zurich Council, following Zwingli's contention, made it law that all children must be baptised. For refusing, Blaurock, not a townsman, was publicly scourged; Felix Manz was put to death by drowning. This, be it observed, was done by State, not Ecclesiastical, authorities. Let it be recorded to the credit of Philip of Hesse that he, and he only of the Lutheran princes, refused to permit a death penalty on Anabaptism (p. 447). There were good men on all sides striving to put an end to this "hideous nightmare". Like the Cambridge Platonists about a century later, scholars were, as they always are, the truest, if the slowest reformers. Pope Adrian VI. saw exactly where the evil lay—with the Curia itself—poor man!—"it was shown to him that the papal court could not possibly pay its way without the money which came in so easily from the sale of Indulgences". Contarini, Caraffa, Reginald Pole and others—good men—scholars—saw that "what was needed to overcome the German movement was neither conferences nor discussions about doctrine but a Reformation in morals" (p. 517). Melancthon, Bucer and others on the Protestant side saw the same truth, and in 1541 the Regensburg Conference met. Contarini presided. On many points, even on Church organisation, agreement was come to. But Transubstantiation was an insuperable difficulty. The Conference broke up, with the result that the reform movement fell into the hands of Ignatius Loyola and his followers; stern disciplinarians whose main notion of reform was the restoration of Church discipline. Absolute unquestioning obedience—"discipline of the soul as the drill-sergeant moulds the body" was to be the method. The Church was to be held absolutely authoritative. Dr. Lindsay quotes from the *Regula*: "Si quid, quod oculis nostris apparet album, nigrum illa [ecclesia] esse definierit, debemus ibidem, quod nigrum sit, pronuntiare". Is that rule still in force?

Human nature being then what it still is, the Jesuits gained a signal success. They ruled the Council of Trent. It is pathetic to read how the Emperor, "supported by almost all the German Roman Catholics," tried to liberalise the Church: it is still more pathetic to record that practically they had no success. The Pope kept the power in his own hands; the Jesuits pulled the strings. "The papal post bags, containing proposed decrees or canons, went the round of the European Courts before they were presented to the Council, and the Bishops spoke and voted upon what had been already settled behind their backs and without their knowledge." It is a melancholy tale; though it is quite true that the Council "not only re-organised but greatly purified the Roman Church".

Of course in this volume, as in its predecessor, the author's own theological opinions must be borne in mind. The *Cambridge Modern History* does not always look at the record through the same coloured glasses. But from any standpoint the sixteenth century is somewhat sad reading. The hard ferocious spirit displayed by all sides was awful. The ethical side of religion was of no account. Murder was an "incident" that did not even rise to the height of being "regrettable". In France the priests almost taught that assassination was a virtue. Wax images were made of Henry III., the parish priests "placed them on their altars and practised on them magical incantations in the hope of doing harm to the living man". Jacques Clément consulted a theologian and got "a guarded answer". The news of the assassination was proclaimed from "the steps of the High Altar in the Church of the Cordeliers". In the streets the people "sang, shouted and danced in honour of the news". We remember the hardness, the sternness of men like Knox: but we forget these things, which ought to be taken account of in forming judgment.

Dr. Lindsay has given us two valuable volumes. There are marks of haste here and there, especially in the English part. The index might have been fuller. There is a very valuable map showing the effects of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation appended to the second volume.

Religion and Progress.¹ By Rev. CANON BARNETT. Canon Barnett has produced a very reasonable little book which supplies us with broad principles in our efforts to promote the well-being of our fellow-men, or as we might express it in other words to assist us in the establishment of God's Kingdom. He inquires into the fitness or otherwise of philanthropic institutions or legislation as means to this great end. He pays a just tribute to the social services of those philanthropic institutions whose voluntary pioneer action has led to the establishment of hospitals, schools, and homes for the feeble-minded. They have paved the way for the State's action: they have made experiments which the State was unable to make. Yet he adds a warning. Charitable institutions are apt to hide suffering away from our eyes, and thus remove from us the most powerful stimulus to a really noble life—the stimulus of pity. He advances a test which might well be applied to every charitable

¹ *Religion and Progress*. By Rev. Canon Barnett. London: A. & C. Black. 6d.

institution: "Does it tend to make each man, woman and child with whom it deals more able to work and more willing to love?"

Similarly wise though extremely difficult of attainment is the summary of advice with regard to legislation. It "should keep alive in every man, woman and child the power of upward striving".

The Making of the Criminal.¹ By Messrs. RUSSELL and RIGBY. This book is written from a wide experience of social work among lads. It emphasises the dangers which await the older lads, lads who have passed the age of sixteen. Should misfortune befall the younger lads there are homes to receive them, but all institutions are closed against the older brothers, and misfortune after the age of sixteen leaves them confronted with the terrible alternative "starve or steal". It is sometimes said that they are then old enough to fend for themselves. But how can a boy of sixteen, without home, friends, or work, fend for himself? The authors give us a pitiful and graphic narrative, rendered all the more painful by its very restraint. Picture a lad at sixteen left an orphan and perhaps the only support of little brothers and sisters—not an uncommon occurrence. He loses work and the home is broken up. Neighbours are good and often take in the younger children, but the lad must fend for himself. Work is hard to get and his clothes wear out. He must beg: he must eat and sleep in such dens as his scanty pence can afford. And so down the ladder of society he descends—nay, that is unfairly put—down the ladder of society he is *forced* against all his desires and all his intentions and all his hopes. He at length is made a criminal against his will. Messrs. Russell and Rigby are essentially practical, and their book overflows with suggested remedies whereby society may save itself from this menace to her peace, even if she is too cold in her sympathies to save the lads in their distress.

Engines of Social Progress.² By W. L. GEORGE. Mr. George defines progress as the evolution of man towards happiness, and he justly observes that this is a very different thing to the attainment of wealth and power. This aim for general happiness may be promoted by laws which give men a fair start in life and tend to adjust the balance in the opportunities of the component parts of society, where that balance has been disturbed. He introduces a long series of "Engines," or means to promote these aims. The conception of such means usually emerges from an individual mind, and is carried to effect by the combined action of a society. Ultimately the State takes over the working of the "Engine" when its efficiency is proved.

Mr. George discusses Housing Schemes, Garden Cities, Co-operation and other means to achieve the common end. He advances a principle which is broadly useful but must not be held as rigid law. "No social progress," he says, "can be effected unless the attainment of a profit be kept in view; charity is the curse of the reformer, so that no scheme deserves to be called progress unless it is able to pay its way."

¹ *The Making of the Criminal.* By Messrs. Russell and Rigby. London: Macmillan Co. 3s. 6d. net.

² *Engines of Social Progress.* By W. L. George. London: A. & C. Black. 5s. net.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Messrs. A. & C. BLACK, Soho Square, London.

Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel, by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.Litt., D.D. 15s. net.

[Really a commentary on Genesis and Exodus, but after a new fashion. It attempts to bring the Hebrew text into a more correct form, and to throw light on to the contents of the text thus restored from the comparative study of myths and legends. Not as if, however, its writers and editors were entirely in the mythological stage.]

Engines of Social Progress, by W. L. George. 5s. net.

[The work for which the "Engines" are designed is defined as the provision that every man shall live in decent comfort, rear a family and give it a fair start, and obtain the education which will enable him to rise in the social scale. Questions of housing, allotments, trust public-house schemes, and co-operative societies are discussed.]

The Growth of Christianity, London Lectures, by Percy Gardner, Litt.D., LL.D. 3s. 6d. net.

[After an inquiry into the main principles of Christianity as first promulgated, the author notices how these principles laid hold on and modified the Jewish, Asiatic, Greek and Roman culture. The book closes with chapters on the mediæval Church, the Reformation and a discussion of the kind of evolution which really took place in the Church.]

Apologia, an Explanation and Defence, by Edwin A. Abbot. 2s. 6d. net.

[The Apologia is based upon the six preceding parts of the *Diatessarica* and with a view to the Eighth Part. Parts I.-VI. of the *Diatessarica* include in separate volumes, Clue—A Guide through Greek to Hebrew Scripture—Corrections of Mark—From Letter to Spirit—Paradosis—Johannine Vocabulary—Johannine Grammar—Silanus the Christian.]

Religion and Progress, by Rev. Canon Barnett. 6d. net.

[A discussion, in light of the knowledge of God's purpose in the past, into the usefulness of Philanthropic Institutions, Legislation and Moral Thoughtfulness, as means to advance God's kingdom.]

From Messrs. T. & T. CLARK, 38 George Street, Edinburgh.

The Stoic Creed, by William L. Davidson, M.A., LL.D. 4s. 6d. net.

[Stoicism was a system of lofty principles which still cast their spell over cultured minds. It was a remarkable chapter in the history of both philosophical thought and natural theology, and as such calls for attention.]

Old Testament Miracles in the Light of the Gospel, by A. Allen Brockington, M.A. 3s. net.

[The author, regarding the Old Testament miracles in the light of signs, endeavours to make them more intelligible and less of a stumbling-block. He selects special or typical miracles to illustrate his contention.]

From Mr. FRANCIS GRIFFITHS, 34 Maiden Lane, Strand, London.

The Autobiography of a Soul, by one who has lived his life, by the Rev. James McCann, D.D. 2s. 6d. net.

[The range of subjects treated is wide, including the nature and origin of the Soul, Environment, Belief, Sensation, Memory, Emotions, Ambition, Prayer, Death. The author writes in his seventy-ninth year.]

From Messrs. LONGMANS, GREEN & CO., 39 Paternoster Row, London.

The Gospel According to St. Paul, by Wm. Porcher Du Bose, M.A., S.T.D.

[The author declares that the first truth with St. Paul is that righteousness is salvation; and the second is that Jesus Christ is righteousness. Therefore the standpoint of his explanation of the Gospel according to St. Paul is to interpret righteousness in itself, as realised and manifested to us in the person of Our Lord and then to learn how that righteousness is to be made ours.]

Original Virtue and Other Short Studies, by Rev. S. Levy, M.A. 3s. 6d. net.

[Papers originally published in periodicals such as the *Jewish Quarterly Review* together with new matter.]

The Servant of Jehovah, or the Passion-prophecy of Scripture analysed and elucidated, by G. C. Workman, M.A., Ph.D. 5s. net.

[The author aims at exhibiting the technical meaning of the term Servant of Jehovah as it occurs in the second half of Isaiah, and to show in what sense the New Testament writers have applied the language of that portion of Scripture. He has in view not only theological students, but also general readers of the Bible, and therefore he avoids needless technicalities.]

What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is He? 1s. net.

[A collection of passages from the Old Testament placed side by side with those of the New Testament which the author views as their fulfilment.]

Studies in the Character of Christ, an argument for the Truth of Christianity, by Charles H. Robinson, M.A. 6d. net.

[A cheap reprint of two former editions. It is an attempt by means of a fresh study of the existing portrait of Christ to show that the strongest evidence for the truth of the Teaching which is attributed to Him in the Gospels is the miracle of a perfect character.]

Eastertide with Jesus, by Anthony Bathe. 6d.

[A series of meditations.]

Monotheism, Hebrew and Christian, by R. B. Girdlestone, M.A.

[A series written from the Christian standpoint to set before educated Western Jews some important aspects of Judaism and Christianity.]

From Messrs. MACMILLAN & CO., London.

Christianity and the Social Crisis, by Walter Rauschenbusch, Professor of Church History in Rochester Theological Seminary. 6s. 6d. net.

[Written in view of the overshadowing commercial and industrial crisis, its object is to reinforce the economic and intellectual factors by religious enthusiasm. In particular it traces the connection between Christianity and the social crisis.]

The Steps of Life, further Essays on Happiness, by Carl Hitty, Professor of Constitutional Law in the University of Bern.

[The steps of life by which the author mounts are, sin and sorrow, culture and courage, a just judgment of others, a rational optimism, and a simple Christian life.]

From Messrs. MASTERS & CO., 78 New Bond Street, London, W.

Richard Hooker (In the Great Churchman Series), by the Very Rev. Vernon Staley, Provost of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, Inverness. 3s. 6d.

[The English Church differed from the foreign reformers in that it made its appeal to Catholic Tradition as well as to Holy Scripture. It thus came into no conflict with authority, as Puritan individualism did. Yet Pius the Fifth's Bull determined that the nation was to be no longer Roman. How it should remain Catholic and yet conciliate the Protestants was a problem which produced men like Hooker, whose life is here written.]

From Messrs. METHUEN & Co., 36 Essex Street, London, W.C.

The Substance of Faith allied with Science. A Catechism for Parents and Teachers, by Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S. 2s. net.

[An attempt at "formulating the fundamentals, or substance of religious faith in terms of Divine Immanence, in such a way as to assimilate sufficiently all the results of existing knowledge, and still be in harmony with the teachings of the poets and inspired writers of all ages".]

From Mr. ELLIOT STOCK, Paternoster Row, London.

An Exposition of the Gospel of Mark, by the late William Kelly. 5s. net.

[Lectures on the Second Gospel which passed through the Bible Treasury in 1865 and 1866 while the author was editor. The critical apparatus was planned by him but another had to execute it. Freedom of criticism is applied to some of the real leaders in the business of literary and historical criticism. The assumption is that the Germans do not dig deep enough, but have more to learn from us than we from them.]

The People's Psalter, in larger type with Cathedral pointing, arranged by the Rev. G. H. S. Walpole, D.D. 3s. 6d.

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Notes on Hebrew Religion, by Harold M. Wiener, M.A., LL.B. 6d.

Sanctification by the Truth, Sermons preached mainly in Westminster Abbey, by Basil Wilberforce, D.D.

[Truth, as a final discovery, exists in no department of knowledge. We pay the price of our labour for what we get: the next generation will pay more and get more. So “God’s truth” is not a final attainment, but an ever-increasing illumination. These sermons are a seeking after that illumination.]

The After Life, a help to a reasonable belief in the Probation Life to come, by Henry Buckle. 7s. 6d. net.

[To show that the belief in an Intermediate State, which was held by the Jews at the time of the birth of Jesus, was upheld and sanctioned by Him, and it was taught by the Apostles and the early Fathers, and the undivided Catholic Church, and it has always been taught by the Church of Rome, but with accretions. The author acknowledges a free use of various authorities: his aim is to gather together what they have said.]

Historic Notes on the Books of the Old and New Testaments, by Samuel Sharpe. 6s. net.

[The fourth edition of a book published in 1858. “The points discussed in it years ago are the points uppermost now.” At that time the discussion was only opened in face of abuse and even persecution.]

Death the Fulfilment of Life, a sermon preached before the University of Cambridge on Sunday, 3rd March, 1907, by the Rev. W. R. Inge, M.A., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. 6d.

Who was Jesus? or, The Virgin Birth and the New Theology, by a layman. 6d. net.

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